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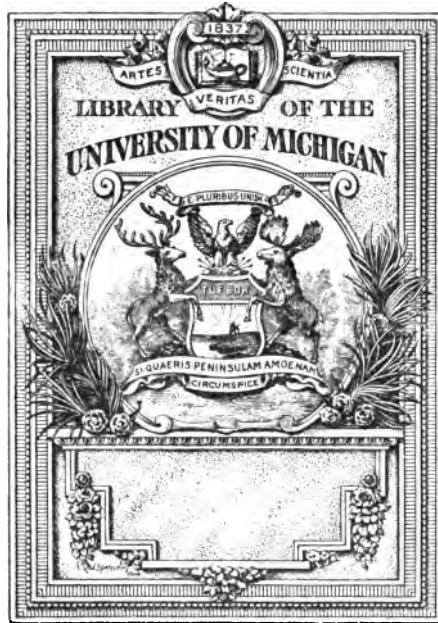
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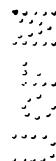
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THE EXPRESSION
OF
CUSTOMARY ACTION OR STATE
IN
EARLY LATIN

A STUDY IN TENSE FUNCTIONS



PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ELIZABETH MARY PERKINS

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THE EXPRESSION OF CUSTOMARY ACTION OR STATE IN EARLY LATIN.

CHAPTER I.

(a) PREVIOUS VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF CUSTOMARY PAST ACTION.

The usual account of the imperfect tense includes customary past action as one of its most important functions. Reisig, *Sprachwissenschaft*, page 334, states that the present tense may denote customary action, but that the imperfect expresses it in the past in connection with some point of time in the past. This assigns the expression of customary past action to the imperfect as its main function.

Madvig, on page 297 of his *Sprachlehre*, holds a more comprehensive view of the tense, namely, that the imperfect represents actions taking place in a certain time and incomplete at that time, or what was a habit or often-repeated action. A similar view is held by Putsche, *Grammatik*, page 291. Roby, in his Grammar, Vol. II, 187, adds to these two functions of the imperfect, the epistolary use, and attempted or inceptive action.

Some authorities find in the imperfect merely the expression of an action not yet completed; that is, continuing in the past and hence appropriate for descriptions. Schmalz, in his general remarks on the imperfect in Vol. II of the *Handbuch d. Clas. Alt.*, holds this theory. It is further countenanced by Draeger, and by Schneider in his dissertation, *de temporum . . . usu*, who states further that the imperfect and perfect were used promiscuously for past time, so that the imperfect has also an aoristic use. Brehme, *Laxam Temporum Significationem*, notes the interchange of tense function in early Latin. Drescher, *Solebat oder solitus est*, devotes his paper to a distinction between the perfect and

imperfect as used to express customary action, finding that if repetition in the past is emphasized as occurring without exception, the perfect is used ; but that if the repetition without reference to the exceptions or the lack of them is represented, or if exceptions are clearly indicated, we have the imperfect. Both these tenses have often definitive adverbs or clauses. The work is based on a few examples in classical Latin.

Lattman denies the aoristic use of the imperfect, since, if any development is present in the action, it must be regarded as a true imperfect. The ending *-bam = fu-am* with the meaning "becoming" suggests this. (See Brugmann, *Grunderiss II*, p. 1267.) The tense is then enabled to express customary action in the past. Kühner, *Grammatik*, II, 92, emphasizes the fact that duration and customary action cannot be expressed by the primal force of the tense.

In an article on the Imperfect Indicative in Plautus and Terence, Wheeler shows progressive and aoristic uses of the imperfect, and from the progressive use, customary past action, frequentative, occasional, conative and inceptive uses are developed. Further, the customary past idea is largely dependent upon the contrast in time and the meaning of the verb.

With the exception of the last-mentioned article, these views are not based on any complete collection in a given period. They are, therefore, almost entirely theoretical. All agree that the imperfect is commonly employed to express customary past action. Some scholars regard this as a function innate in the tense; others, as developed from the one usage, that of describing an action not yet complete. Many scholars, however, attribute to the imperfect an aoristic use parallel with the perfect.

As the views in the grammars are either contradictory or indefinite, it has been the purpose of the present writer to make a complete study of the expression of customary action in the earliest stage of its development. The problem, then, is to investigate this function of the imperfect more carefully,

endeavoring to define it, and, if possible, discover its origin and trace its development. The idea of custom, habit, etc., may be expressed in various ways, and these expressions have been collected in order to ascertain what light is thrown by them upon this function of the tense. In the case of the imperfect, especial attention has been given to the context, in order to find out whether the tense alone expresses customary action in the past, or whether it requires definition. This should throw some light on the tense itself, at least in its early usage.

(b) METHOD OF INVESTIGATION.

The following investigation is based on a collection of 1241 cases in which customary action is expressed. All expressions in the indicative mood which seemed to imply a notion of custom, habit, or the like, have been taken from early Latin literature, in which I include all the remains of the literature down to 81 B. C., namely: the Latin inscriptions till the death of Cæsar; the fragments of the poets, historians, and orators; Cato; Plautus; Terence; the works of Varro who, both by temperament and in style deserves to be ranked with the older school; and the work attributed to Cornificius, ad Herennium.

All cases have been divided into independent and dependent sentences, and questions. The dependent sentences have been arranged according to the introductory particles, but have not been thus subdivided in the tables. The questions have been divided into sentence- and *quis*-questions, the former usually characterized by some particle like *num* or *ne*, and the latter, by a form of the interrogative pronoun. In each of these classes, the subdivisions "pure" and "contingent" have been made. Cases of contingent action are those whose action takes place only under conditions given by a clause or phrase dependent on the verb discussed. The action of the tense is thus contingent upon these conditions. By means of this clause or phrase, the tense obtains a part,

if not all, of its customary coloring. For example, in Plaut. Men. 114, *quotiens* foras ire *volo*, me *retines*, revocas *rogitas*, *retines* obtains its entire customary meaning from the clause introduced by *quotiens*. The verb *revocas* has some idea of recurrent action in its meaning, and *rogitas* is in form a frequentative verb.

Cases of "pure" customary action are those which are not influenced by any such clause or phrase, although they may have some influence aside from these to aid them in the expression of customary action. Further, the cases have been divided according to form and to verb-meaning, as well as tense. The three main divisions with respect to tense are imperfect, perfect, and present. In regard to verb-meaning, we have:

Class A, Physical Action, that is, verbs which involve motion or state of a whole body, or a part or parts of a body, e. g., L. L. 5, 43, unde *escendebant* ad infimam novam viam.

Class B includes verbs of psychical action or state, e. g., Aul. 216, . . . te civem sine mala omni malitia Semper sum arbitratus et nunc arbitor.

Class C is made up of auxiliary verbs, that is, such verbs as must have an infinitive expressed or understood, or a clause dependent upon them in order to have their meaning complete, e. g., Phorm. 912, olim quom honeste *potuit*, tum non est data. Under Class C have been included all cases of *soleo* in the appropriate tenses; other auxiliary verbs, as *adsoleo*, *consuesco*, *adsuesco*, *consuefacio*, *desuefio*, and *insuesco*; all cases of formulæ involving the words *mos*, *consuetudo*, *usus* and *disciplina* with *esse* or some other copula.

Finally, we have Class D, or frequentatives, according to the appropriate tenses.

The six cases of the pluperfect have been discussed at the end of the third chapter. A division has been marked between those cases in which customary action is not the result of the form of the verb, that is, any simple verb in classes A and B, and in C such a verb as *debere*, to owe; and those where the form of the verb indicates customary activity, as

cases with *soleo*, meaning, "I am accustomed." The collection is as complete as possible in the case of the imperfect tense, and Class C in all tenses. In the present tense, some cases of frequentatives, and verbs of classes A and B, may have escaped my attention.

CHAPTER II.

THE IMPERFECT.

The imperfect of customary past action may be defined as that imperfect which in past time denotes an action recurring at more or less distant and regular intervals, e. g., Varr., R. R. 1, 13, 16, illi enim *faciebant* ad fructuum rationem, hi faciunt ad libidines indomitas. Here the action of the verb ceases long before the present time because the subject understood is *nostri maiores*, a fact which implies that their custom, at least, no longer obtains. There are, however, transitional cases which connect this strict use of the imperfect of customary past action with the other tenses which express customary action extending into the past, e. g., the present with *soleo* and the perfect. They are instances of the imperfect of immediate past action, which still have a customary force. Here the imperfect expresses action continuing in the past at repeated intervals, but coming immediately up to the present, if not actually into the present itself. The scope of this tense does not differ materially from that of such English progressive perfects as, "I have been doing." Truc. 83, quem anteaç odiosum sibi esse *memorabat* mala, expresses action that continues at frequent intervals up to the very moment of the speaker's utterance. Of the entire range of tenses, the imperfect is the first to which one naturally turns for cases of customary action, because, aside from the pluperfect, which denotes a completed action, it is most likely to refer in a large number of instances to past time



alone, and because it expresses an action not yet completed. A custom is not complete, at least it implies cases that precede it and those that will follow it of the same character as the typical instance which is brought to the attention of the reader in a single statement. Therefore a tense which does not concentrate all possible cases in one single point of view, as does the perfect, but which admits the possibility of further development, joined with the preceding, is well adapted to the expression of a custom.

For convenience of study the 456 cases of the imperfect of customary action have been divided into classes A, B, C, and D. As illustration, I cite from Class A : L. L. 5, 180, qui iudicio vicerat . . . victi ad aerarium *redibat*; Men. 1121, Dic mihi: uno nomine ambo *eratis*?

From Class B, compare : Most. 155, optumi quoique *expetebant* a me doctrinam sibi ; Hec. 426, olim quidem te causae *impellebant* leves quod nunc minitare facere ut faceres.

From Class C: L. L. 5, 37, Ager quod *videbatur* pecudem ac pecuniae esse fundamentum, fundus dictus ; Capt. 482, Quibus *solebam* menstrualis epulas ante adipiscier.

From Class D: Porc. Licinius Frag. Poet. 278, 10, tres per id tempus qui *agitabant* facile nobilissumei.

To show the range of this use of the imperfect over the whole early period, a few more cases follow : C. I. L. 1011, ille meo officio Eos, adsiduo *florebat* ad omnis; Rutilius Rufus, Hist. Frag. p. 123, 22. Primum, inquit, contra consuetudinem imperatorum ipse pro lectis lecticis *utebantur*; Plaut. As. 213, Quod *nolebam* ac votueram de industria *fugiebatis* ; Ps. 1180, Noctu in vigiliam quando ibat miles quom tu ibas simul *Conveniebatne* in vaginam tuam machaera militis?; Enn. Ann: 155, scripsere alii rem vorsubus quos olim Fauni vatesque *canebant*; Cato, de innoc. 64, 1, Cum essem in provincia legatus, quamplures ad praetores et consules vinum honorarium *dabant*; Ter. Eun. 397, vel rex semper maxumas Mihi *agebat* quidquid feceram; Phorm. 89, hic *solebamus* fere plerumque eam operiri; Varr. R. R. 3, 9, 19, quae melicas appellant falso quod antiqui ut Thetim

M. 70.1

Thelim *dicebant*, sic . . . vocabant; L. L. 9, 85, Si esset denarii in recto casu atque infinitam multitudinem significaret, tunc in patro denariorum dici *oportebat*; Menipp. Satur. 248, 7, quod qui cito facturum *quid* se ostendere volebat, *dicebat* numero id fore; Cic. Her. 4, 16, 23, Maiores nostri si quam unius peccati mulierem damnabant, simplici iudicio multorum maleficiorum convictam putabant.

We must now consider how far the context influences the meaning of the imperfect tense, and whether the tense alone ever carries the force of customary action.

First, the meaning of the verb must be examined to see whether it implies customary activity. The most striking verb denoting customary activity is *solebam*, with or without the infinitive. The customary idea must be regarded as existent in the verb. Of the nine cases, eight have the infinitive expressed and with one it is easily supplied from the context. Varr. R. R. 1, 2, 1, Num feriae sementivae otiosus
huc adduxerunt ut patres et avos *solebant* nostros? Here *abducere* is implied after *solebant*. [In six of the nine cases, the infinitive stands next to the verb, preceding it in five instances in prose, and following in one in poetry. Of the entire number with the infinitive, 62 per cent. precede the verb.] All the dependent infinitives are in class A.

The customary idea is not conveyed by the verb alone even in these instances, e. g.: Phorm. 89, hic *solebamus fere plerumque eam opperiri*, where two particles *fere* and *plerumque* accompany the verb, in themselves expressing recurrent action. Once the action is made contingent by a phrase *in re militari*, R. R. 2, 7, 1, e quis feminas Q. Modius Equiculus, vir fortissimus, etiam *in re militari* iuxta ac mares habere *solebat*.

In eight instances, the action ceases before the present time, shown by words in the immediate context, as in six of the following cases, or by the entire tendency of the context.

The time of the action is defined, therefore, in Varr. L. L. 5, 126, by ~~ante~~ and *nunc*, showing the complete contrast in time: ab eo etiam *nunc ante* balineum locus ubi poni *solebat*,

Urnarium vocatur. In Capt. 482, *ante* alone is used, and in R. R. 1, 2, 1, already noted, the substantives *patres*, *avos nostros*, indicate that the action ceased long before the present. Carbo, Meyer. 355 : tu dicere *solebas*, sacram esse rem publicam, is classed here because we learn from the context that the father, thus invoked, is dead. In the two following instances, the speaker seems to indulge in reminiscence about persons either dead, or removed from the sphere of activity under discussion : Lucil. Sat. 121, in quo Laelius clamores sophos ille *solebat* edere.; R. R. 2, 7, 1, already cited. Cic. Her. 4, 54, 67, Quiesce tu cuius pater cubito se emungere *solebat*, should be placed here by reason of its subject, although there is no definite proof that the action is one in time long past; and Phorm. 89 occurs in a narrative of events distant from the time of the speaker who is telling a long story. The last case, Varr. M. S. 181, 1, is distinguished by no temporal particle, . . . quae eius nervia tractare *solebat*.

The comparatively rare occurrence of *solebam*, when contrasted with the wide use of the present *soleo* (see Chap. IV) in the expression of customary action, indicates that the imperfect is not indispensable to the expression of the customary past idea, as the verb itself conveys the idea sufficiently, but is used in these cases to express customary past action, ceasing before the present.

I must here discuss two cases which by their form make the customary idea very plain. One case of *mos erat*, and one of *consuetudo erat* occur, referring to a custom whose action ceased before the present time. The case with *mos* is, Cato. C. de mor. 57, 2, *vestire* in foro honeste *mos erat* domi quod satis erat; in the other, L. L. 6, 74, *Consuetudo erat* cum res parum esset idoneus incepitis rebus, ut pro se alium daret, a quo caveri postea lege coeptum est, the contrast in time is marked by *postea*. Here contingent action is shown by the clause with *cum*. The essential verbal idea is in the infinitive depending on the formulæ, in both instances a verb of physical activity.

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A few cases of frequentative verbs in the imperfect should be discussed here which express recurrent action by their form. This action, however, is usually too often repeated in too short a time to give any customary idea in the accepted sense. For example, in Hist. Frag. 111, 3, Asel., *rationibusque quas dictitabat* spretis vestimentis detrahi imperavit, the reference is to a single instance when the man was on trial, and has absolutely no idea of action occurring at different times with sufficient regularity to indicate custom. It is, then, frequentative. Where action ceases before the present, there are varying grades of frequentative activity. A few cases of pure frequentative action are quoted below: Hist. Frag. 143, 32, *Quadr.*, dum collega id caperet quod *captabat*; Epid. 131, *empta ancillast quod tute ad me litteras missiculabas*.

There are fourteen cases of customary action combined with this idea. Five have the customary idea with the frequentative form. There are two similar cases, Cato Hist. Frag. P. 64, l. 9, and l. 11, *mulieres nostrae capillum cinere unguitabant* ut rutiles essent, and, *flavo cinere unctitabant* ut rutiles esset. The result of the action implies a habit. It may be paraphrased, "They would make frequent applications in a day (or every day) until it was red." Most. 152, *victitabam volup*; Cato Jord. 35, 2, *interea unam quamque turrem manipulum cohortem temptabam*; and 35, 2 proeliis levibus *spectabam*, are of the same nature.

In seven cases, the frequentative idea has almost entirely disappeared while the custom is prominent: Cist. 161, In Lemnum aufugit ubi *habitabant*; R. R. 3, 1, 3, *quod tempus si referas ad illud principium quo agricoli sunt coepti atque in casis et tuguriis habitabant*; M. S. 225, 9, *Antiqui nostri in domibus laterciis paululum modo lapidibus suffundatis ut umorem ecfugerent habitabant*; Eun. 107, with the same verb, Incert Frag. 94, Trag. R., *quem aspectabant cuius ab os Grai ora obvertebant sua*; L. L. 5, 141, *quod muniendi causa portabatur, munus*; Mil. 61, *Rogitabant* "hicine Achilles est" inquit mihi.

? In two sentences, contingency is marked; it is expressed by a clause with *ubi*, L. L. 5, 162, *ubi cenabant*, *Cenaculum vocitabant*. In And. 84, *rogitabam*, "heus puer, Dic sodes quis heri Chrysidem habuit?", the *heri*, as well as the entire context, indicates that this was a daily practice. There is a strong iterative idea, however, "each time he would keep asking the slave until he answered."

Contrast of time is expressed in six sentences: in L. L. 5, 162 by *nunc* in the context; by the subject (*antiqui* or *mullieres nostrae*) M. S. 225, 9; Hist. Frag. p. 64, l. 9, l. 11; by the fact that the subject is deceased, Inc. Frag. 94, Trag. R.; by a phrase with *tempus* referring to a distant period, R. R. 3, 1, 3. Five cases occur in narratives of events in the past: Most. 152; Cist. 161; And. 84; Hist. Frag. 66, 3; Frag. 66, 4; while one case, L. L. 5, 141, antedates an act of naming in the past.

Fourteen cases, then, have the customary past idea, as the three given for illustration refer to iterative action on a single occasion, hence have no share in the customary idea in the past, although it may of course be contended that we have here customary actions at short intervals extending over a limited space of time. These cases would then stand at the farthest limit of customary activity. Instead of recurrent actions distributed over an indefinite period, we have here very frequent occurrences perhaps in the space of an hour or day. These, strictly speaking, are not cases of customary action as here defined. The influence of particles and clauses is very slight. The majority of cases with customary coloring has a strong contrast in time expressed by the context.

It is thus seen that nine cases of *solebam*, two of *mos* and *consuetudo erat*, and fourteen frequentative verbs express customary action in themselves without the aid of the tense, numbering 25. The infrequent occurrence of such forms in the imperfect shows that this tense is not invariably attached to the customary idea. In these cases, the imperfect is not employed to mark the customary function, as the influence

of these forms is much stronger, but merely to indicate that the activity is not complete and is contemporaneous with some other past event; i. e., the simple imperfect function. Before inferring that the imperfect is so rare in these forms because this tense expresses customary action as one of its main functions, contextual influence on other verbs in classes A, B, and C must be investigated.

These verbs number 431. We find the largest group of verbs expressing customary past action by the imperfect to be class A. This class, consisting of 393 instances, greatly outnumbers the others; first, because there are more verbs of physical than mental action; and second, because the verb-meaning is often well adapted to the expression of recurrent action.

The influence of verb-meaning in these sentences must now be carefully considered. In Class A, we have 151 instances. Take one striking group, verbs of verbal communication. Of them, 66 cases convey the customary idea in the verb itself, e. g., *appellabam*, to name, occurs nine times. The name itself arises from customary acts of naming or calling. Cf.: R. R. 2, 2, 3, itaque quae id non habent maiores nostri spicas *appellant*. Other cases of this verb follow, R. R. 1, 2, 9; R. R. 3, 13, 2; R. R. 3, 1, 3; R. R. 3, 12, 6; L. L. 5, 118; L. L. 6, 70; L. L. 7, 36; L. L. 5, 167.

Vocabam is used thirteen times, e. g.: R. R. 1, 59, 1; orbiculata et quae antea mostea *vocabant* nunc melimela *appellant*; Hist. Frag. 141, 27; Meyer p. 222; M. Junius Pennus; Men. 1123; Cato Car. p. 57, 2; R. R. 1, 8, 6; R. R. 2, 5, 3; R. R. 3, 9, 19; L. L. 5, 125; L. L. 5, 143; L. L. 7, 93; L. L. 5, 107; L. L. 5, 126.

Nominabar is found once: L. L. 5, 121. Another interesting case of a verb of naming is L. L. 6, 60, ab eo quoque potest dictum nominare quod res novae in usum, quom modo additae erant, quibus eas novissent, *nomina ponebant*, where *nomina ponebant* is equivalent to *vocabant*. Compare also *praedicabant*, Men. 715.

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Dicebant, meaning to name, call, or pronounce, occurs 32 times, e. g.: L. L. 9, 100; de infectis sum quod nunc dicitur, olim *dicebatur* Esum, L. L. 5, 166, Lectus mortui fertur, *dicebant* Feretrum nostri. The remaining cases are: R. R. 3, 9, 19; R. R. 2, 11, 5; R. R. 3, 3, 2; R. R. 3, 9, 19; L. L. 5, 169; L. L. 6, 80; L. L. 5, 98; L. L. 5, 182; L. L. 10, 70; L. L. 6, 8; L. L. 9, 76; L. L. 6, 80; L. L. 7, 91; L. L. 5, 3; L. L. 7, 26; L. L. 5, 96; L. L. 7, 84; L. L. 9, 83; L. L. 6, 4; L. L. 5, 79; L. L. 5, 166; L. L. 9, 100; L. L. 5, 3; L. L. 6, 71; L. L. 5, 161; L. L. 7, 44; L. L. 9, 56; L. L. 5, 177; L. L. 6, 4. Note especially L. L. 7, 65, Iuuentius comicus *dicebat* . . . , where we have both the act of naming and the words of an authority to emphasize the idea of custom.

Perhibebat has the customary idea in itself: Bacch. 424, id quom optigerit, hoc etiam ad malum accersebatur malum, Et discipulos et magistri *perhibebantur* improbi. In Varr. L. L. 6, 59, quod mea memoria ut Aelius, sic senes aliquot nimium novum verbum quod esset *vitabant*, *verbum vitabant* meaning, to avoid the use of a word, has the customary idea in it.

Closely connected with these cases are seven expressions of an authority, found in Varro. There are six instances of the use of *dicebat* like L. L. 7, 65; e. g.: L. L. 5, 101, volpes ut Aelius *dicebat* quod volat pedibus. The authority gains weight from frequent citation, hence customary activity is here prominent. Note also: L. L. 5, 55; L. L. 5, 66; L. L. 5, 83; R. R. 3, 2, 14; R. R. 3, 3, 17. R. R. 3, 6, 6 is a case with *aiebat*, ut quidem Abuccius *aiebat*.

In other verbs of Class A, we may distinguish cases of *erat*, whose verbal meaning and temporal value may be discovered rather by paraphrase than translation, from those verbs whose action must be customary. There are 51 verbs of this nature involving 33 different expressions, e. g.: And. 38, feci ex servo ut essemus libertus mihi Propterea quod *servibas* liberaliter, where a number of recurrent actions is demanded by the verb-meaning. Compare Hist. Frag. 83, 27, *scriptum faciebat*, to act as clerk; Varr. L. L. 5, 129, qui ea *ministrabat*

a cinere Cinerarius est appellatus; Enn. Ribbeck p. 76, *regnum suppetebat*, implying rule.

Verbs meaning "to be worth," have the customary idea in the verb, since the literal meaning is still active in it; every time a coin is produced, so much is paid down for it or may be paid for it at any time, that is, the idea of value involves also the recognition of the giving of its constant equivalent, e. g.: *pendebat*, R. R. 1, 10, 2, quod habet iugerum scripula CCLXXXVIII quantum as antiquos noster ante bellum punicum *pendebat*; L. L. 9, 83. *Valebat* is similar: L. L. 5, 174, Nummi denarii decuma Libella quod libram pondo aes *valebat* et erat; L. L. 5, 173; L. L. 9, 87. We have an idea of comparative value, Cato Carm. p. 57, 2, equos carius quam coquos *emebant*, that is, horses were worth more than cooks.

In passages discussing the usage of words note L. L. 5, 3, multa enim verba aliud nunc ostendunt, aliud ante *significabant*, where value in a transferred sense is expressed, and L. L. 9, 100, olim dicebatur Esum et in omnibus personis *constabat*.

In verbs of training or exercise, recurrent ideas are involved, e. g.: Bacch. 429, saliendo sese *exercebant*.

The verb *utor* implies recurrent action. Stich. 185, oratio . . . interiit . . . quae ante *utebantur*; L. L. 9, 69; L. L. 5, 132; Hist. Frag. 123, 22.

In several cases, *habebam* is used with words in objective relations to it in such a way that the whole phrase has the force of a verb of recurrent action, e. g.: R. R. 3, 17, 6, where the verb means "to keep servants." Varr. M. S. 216, 1, ubi tum comitia *habebant*; L. L. 7, 57, with *habebant arma* in the sense, "to wear" (cf. L. L. 7, 52, and L. L. 5, 116, as exact parallels) involve several actions. Compare the cases in Rud. 389; Rud. 389, where *habebat* means "to keep always with one." Note also R. R. 3, 26, villaes quam . . . *habebat*; Truc. 393, qui quasi uxorem sibi me *habebat*.

Verbs of feeding imply recurrent action, for creatures cannot be said to have been fed when only one action is meant,

cf. the two cases: R. R. 3, 1, 4, redigebant suos cives, quod et in pace a rusticis Romanis alebantur, et in bellis ab eis alebantur; R. R. 3, 3, 6, in plano cohors in qua pascebantur gallinae; R. R. 3, 1, 7; L. L. 5, 162. Note also Men. 20, quae mammam dabat, with similar force.

Certain verbs of passing one's time in a place involve recurrent activities; of animals, R. R. 2, 2, 9, with the verb *hibernabant*; R. R. 2, 2, 9, with *aestivabant*; L. L. 5, 95, *pecus*, ab eo quod *perpascebant*, a quo pecora universa, where the verb means to wander or to rove. Note also Bacch. 430, ibi suam *aetatem extendebant* non in latebrosis locis; Asin. 143, *sordido vitam oblectabas*, where the ideas involved are similar, also Phorm. 363, ruri fere se *continebat*; L. L. 5, 90; qui extra castra *prae sidebant* in loco aliquo, where the idea in the verb demands successive activities. Somewhat similar is the instance from C. I. L. 1011, where *florebat* applies to the entire life.

A few more cases deserve brief mention. In L. L. 5, 36, *agros colebant* involves repeated action because a field could not be cultivated by one act. Two other cases connected with operations in agriculture are found: L. L. 5, 108, *natura ferebat*; and R. R. 1, 2, 9, *effodiebat*. More than one instance of doing a favor is implied in Heaut. 989, *indulgebant*. Cf.: And. 89, *quaerebam*, to make inquiries; Heaut. 110; and Phorm. 87 with *operam dabam* meaning to devote one's attention to a thing. Two verbs in Cato Carm. 57, 2, *studebat* and *adPLICabat* have the same meaning. Cf.: Truc. 381, *sordebamus alter alteri*. L. L. 5, 95, Quod in pecore pecunia tum pastoribus *consistebat* et standi fundamentum pes . . . a pede pecudem appellarunt, is shown by the verb *consistebat* to consist of recurrent activities as the wealth comes from different things in different ways, and varies at every point in the action.

Among cases of *eram*, 34 have the idea of customary activity in the meaning of the paraphrase. Of them, a few involve the idea of teaching, learning or application: Most. 150, Quo neque *industrior* de iuventute *erat* disco Bacch. 422;

Enn. Ann. 155, *studiosus erat*; Asin. 210, *studia erant vostra omnia*. The idea that others learn is involved: Most. 153, *disciplinae aliis eram*. The continuous action of ruling is shown by such phrases as Ps. 1171, *ego eram domi imperator*; Mil. 15; Mil. 99, *erat erus*; R. R. 2, 1, 6, *pastor erat*. Men. 1121, 1122 and 1131 are equivalent to acts of naming, 1122 reading, *Mihi hoc erat quod nunc est*, Menaechmo, illum tum vocabant Sosiclem.

Usage of a verb is involved L. L. 8, 17, propter ea *verba quae erant* proinde ac cognomina . . . arcessit declinationum genus. Compare L. L. 9, 54. Some phrases are equivalent to *valebat* and should be classed here; L. L. 5, 182, nam *quod asses libras pondo erant* qui acceperant maiorem numerum non in arca ponebant; L. L. 5, 174; L. L. 5, 169; R. R. 1, 13, 6, *illorum villae rusticae erant maioris preti* quam *urbanae quae nunc sunt pleraque contra*; M. S. 126, 9, *Quod tunc quaestus trichinus erat*. Here the idea of doing business, whether well or ill, involves repeated activities. Constant use of some article is brought out: L. L. 8, 10; L. L. 9, 56; Fab. Pall. Aq. 4, *unum me puero venter erat solarium*; L. L. 5, 122, . . . in poculis *erant Paterae*.

Service is involved, L. L. 7, 52, and constant activity in Capt. 474, *ipsi obsonant quae parasitorum ante erat provincia*.

The following verbs indicate that the subject passes his entire time in a certain place or in a certain way: Most. 731; Truc. 596, *qui . . . apud me erat*; Phorm. 363; R. R. 3, 6. Freedom is expressed: Her. 4, 53, 66, *libertatem quae non erat*. Continued production is involved in the phrase: R. R. 3, 3, 6, *earum fructus erat ova et pulli*.

Compare also a case where continued mental activity is meant, R. R. 3, 17, 8; *non minus cura erat eius de aegrotis piscibus*, and also, Ad. 345; *quae secunda ei dos erat, erat* meaning, "was regarded as." L. L. 5, 43, *olim paludibus mons erat ab reliquis disclusus*, involves a habitual state, subject, however, to change.

In Class B, numbering 31 cases, a customary idea appears in the verb twelve times, as in L. L. 7, 39, *Lucanum bovem*

quod *putabant* Lucam bovem appellasse, where *putabant* means "look upon," "regard as," and is the equivalent of a verb of naming in the mental sphere. Cf.: L. L. 6, 10. In connection with these note: R. R. 3, 12, 16, L. Aelius *putabat* ab eo dictum leporem . . . , and L. L. 5, 66, which denote the mental attitude of an authority.

Most. 155, optumi quique *expetebant* a me *doctrinam* sibi, involves recurrent actions. Compare the verb *discebant*, expressing the opposite conception. R. R. 3, 17, 8, with *minus laborabat ne . . .*, is a parallel. R. R. 2, 1, 1; Ann. 191, are two cases of verbs of choice which involve continual acts of selection resulting in the state of distinct preference. Compare the physical action of balancing, which involves numberless shiftings until the equilibrium is established. Epid. 135, Illam *amabam* olim; Pers. 649; Hec. 294, *habebam* alibi *animum amori deditum*; R. R. 3, 17, 8, *hac incuria laborare aiebat* M. Lucullum ac piscinas eius *despiciebat*, imply recurrent activities of the mind, culminating in a mental state.

Class CI seems at first to contain no verb with the customary idea in itself. One case of *poteram*, however, may be thus described, L. L. 7, 41, orationi legebantur potissimum qui causam commodissime orare *poterant*. This verb used personally shows that the subject has in it a certain number of possibilities of performing an action many times, showing the repeated processes of the will which precede the processes of a habitual occupation. It should, however, be regarded as on the boundary line between the imperfect of customary action, and other imperfects. The verbs dependent on the auxiliary have much influence upon the verbal conception. When examined, they are found to have the idea of recurrent activity in two cases: L. L. 5, 387, *Ager quod videbatur pecudem ac pecunia esse fundamentum* Fundus dictus. *Esse fundamentum* is equivalent to *consistebat* and *videbatur* is itself a verb of thought. In Cic. Her. 4, 7, 10, quae enim res apud nostros non erant, earum rerum nomina non *poterant esse usitata*, the dependent verb has frequentative form, added to

its meaning, to aid in the expression of recurrent action. *Non erant* also throws light on the tense usage of *poterant*. Note also: Her. 4, 6, 9, *sponte poterat considerare*, involving learning; and R. R. 1, 2, 9, *reperiri poterat* in operations of agriculture. There are then four cases where the dependent verbs carry with them the customary idea, and one where habitual action is involved in the verb itself.

Out of seven instances in CI, five have the customary idea in the words themselves [which express the action of the subject.]

To sum up, Class A in 393 verbs has 151 cases where the verb-meaning carries the customary idea; Class B, of 31 cases has twelve examples of this phenomenon, and Class CI has five instances among such verbs as may fairly be compared with classes A and B. In C as a whole, however, there are sixteen cases where the meaning of the verb or verbal complex conveys a customary idea, the entire class numbering eighteen. In D, there are fourteen cases.

In Class A, the proportion of cases influenced by verb-meaning is 38.4 per cent.; in B, 38.7 per cent.; in C, 88 per cent. Next to Class D then, where all cases are influenced by verb-meaning, Class C has the largest proportion. From the whole number, 193 cases are influenced by verb-meaning, or 42 per cent., which proves how important it is to examine the meaning of the verb before drawing conclusions as to the scope of the tense function.

In what precedes, the influence of other factors, which may aid in expressing customary action, has been disregarded. No less necessary, therefore, is it to consider the influence of the immediate context, shown in three ways: first, by the use of particles, as for example, *saepe*: Phorm. 365, *saepe interea mihi senex Narrabat*; secondly, by the use of a contingent clause, e. g.: R. R. 1, 13, 6, *illic laudabatur villa si habebat culinam*; and thirdly, by phrases equivalent to clauses: L. L. 5, 143, *hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato*. Examples of the three classes where the customary idea is partially expressed by some particle which de-

notes recurrent action, are given below. Instances in which the verb-meaning implies customary action are marked thus †. The number of cases influenced by a particle in class A is 37. *Semper* is used six times, modifying two verbs in L. L. 5, 84, *Flamines, quod in Latio capite velato erant semper, ac caput cinctum habebant filo*, *Flamines dicti*. There are also two cases in L. L. 6, 95, with *intererat* and *fiebant*; Eun. 397, and † R. R. 3, 3, 17. *Saepe* is found twice: Phorm. 365; Mil. 855*. There are two cases of *cotidie*, Hec. 157; Heaut. 102. A form of *crebro* occurs twice: Mil. 851, hoc illi *crebro capite sistebant cadi*; Phorm. 1012. *Adsiduo* is used once: † C. I. L. 1011; *fere*, twice: L. L. 5, 166, Qui lecticam *involvebant* quod *fere stramenta erant e segete*, *Segestria appellarunt*; † Phorm. 363. *Raro* influences two verbs, Cist. 19, *raro .. dabat .. infuscebat*. *Usque* is found: Asin. 210, *usque eratis*, and Asin. 211, *usque adhaerebatis*; *statim*, meaning regularly: Phorm. 789, nam ex eis praediis talenta argenti bina *capiebat statim*; *pleraque*: L. L. 5, 118, nisi etiam quod *ponebant pleraque* in cibo mensa; *frequenter*: R. R. 3, 17, 7, ei pisciculos minutos *adgerebant frequenter*; *nonnumquam*: † L. L. 9, 83, pro assibus *nonnumquam Aes dicebant antiqui*; And. 109, *nonnumquam conlacrumbat*; *quotiens*: M. S. 139, 9, *Quotiens* priscus homo ac rusticus Romanus inter nundinum barbam *radebat?*; Hec. 60; *ubivis*: Aq. Fab. Pall. 6, *ubivis monebat esse nisi quom nil erat*; *cum potissimum*: L. L. 7, 41; L. L. 5, 126: *maxime* or the adjective, in two cases: R. R. 3, 1, 7; agriculturam primo propter paupertatem *maxime* indiscretam *habebant*; L. L. 5, 96; Armenta quod boves ideo *maxime parabantur* ut inde eligerent ad arandum; *quam plures*: Cato 64, 1, de innoc., Cum essem in provincia legatus, *quam plures* ad praetores et consules vinum honorarium *dabant*; *numquam* with distributives: Asel. p. 110, 6, *numquam minus terna aut quaterna milia hominum sequabantur*; *quicque*: Merc. 216; quin quicque ut *dicebam mihi credebat*.

The following are phrases equivalent to *saepe*: L. L. 5, 125, *haec in aedibus ad compluvium apud multos me puero pone-*

batur; † L. L. 7, 26, *in multis verbis* in quo antiqui dicebant S postea dicunt R; L. L. 6, 89, *in aliquot rebus . . acciebat*. Five cases have been influenced by verb-meaning.

In C we have one instance: † Phorm. 89, where the particles are *ferē* and *plerumque*, and where the meaning of the verb *solebam* is influential.

Of the 456 verbs, 38 only are influenced by a particle like *ferē*, *semper* or a clear equivalent, about 8.3 per cent. Six of these have been discussed under verb-meaning. To the 193 influenced by the meaning of the verb, 32 may be added, making 225 cases in which the tense does not carry the entire force of the customary past action.

Clauses also influence the character of the action expressed by the verb, e. g., Cato Carm. m. 57, 2, *si quis in ea re ludebat aut sese ad convivia adiplicabat, grassator vocabatur*, has the action of *vocabatur* dependent on the number of times the circumstances of the clause with *si* occur. The influence of such clauses on the tense function is plain. There are 101 cases where the action is affected in this way, either by a clause or a phrase. Discussing the clauses first, and marking cases where the verb implies customary action with †, and cases influenced by a particle with an asterisk, *, we have in Class A, 86 cases of contingent action. It is produced by a clause 62 times, by a clause with *si* in seven sentences, e. g.: R. R. 1, 13, 6, *illic laudabatur villa, si habebat culinam*; Cato Jordan, 35, 3, *Siquis strenue fecerat, donabam honeste*; Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 21, *antehac si flabat aquilo aut auster inopia, tum erat piscati*. Compare also Cato Jordan 35, 5; † Cato Carm. 57, 2; † L. L. 5, 161; Asin. 142.

A clause with *cum* influences twelve verbs: R. R. 1, 29, 3, *sic quoque exta deis cum dabant, porricere dicebant*; Cato. de. fen. 39, 8, *cum Romam veniebant prorsus devertebantur pro hospitibus ad amicos*; Cato, de agr. 1, 2; Asin. 207, *Tum mi aedes quoque arridebant quom ad te veniebam*; † Bacch. 424, with *perhibebantur*; Bacch. 4, 24, with *accersebantur*; Ps. 1180; R. R. 3, 17, 7; * Asell. 110, 6; L. L. 6, 7, *Intempestatum*

Aelius *dicebat cum tempus* agendi est nullum, quod alii Concupiunt appellarent; † L. L. 6, 60; L. L. 9, 60.

Clauses with an indefinite relative occur four times: Men. 716; Men. 484; * Eun. 397, vel rex semper maxumas mihi *agebat quidquid feceram*; † L. L. 5, 167, Has *quicquid insternabant*, ab sternendo Stragulum *appellant*.

Clauses with a relative which is not indefinite in form although it may be indefinite in meaning occur seventeen times: † Varr. L. L. 5, 3, tum eo verbo *dicebant* peregrinum *qui* suis legibus *uteretur*; ex. incert. Frag., 94, Hicine est ille Telamo modo . . *quem aspectabant cuius* ob os Grai *obvertebant* sua ?, where the clause with *quem* makes the action of the subsequent relative clause contingent. Further, we have: * L. L. 6, 95; † L. L. 6, 71; L. L. 5, 180; L. L. 5, 182; L. L. 5, 180^a; L. L. 5, 180^b; † L. L. 7, 93; † L. L. 5, 107; † L. L. 10, 70; L. L. 5, 182; L. L. 5, 182; † R. R. 3, 9, 19, hae primo *dicebantur quae* ex Medica propter magnitudinem *erant* adlatae; † R. R. 1, 2, 9; † R. R. 2, 2, 3; R. R. 2, 2, 3 with *reiciebant*.

Clauses introduced by *quod* occur nine times: Hist. Frag. 109, 9, annales libri tantum modo *quod* factum quoque anno *gestum sit*, ea *demonstrabant* ita quasi qui diarium scribunt; * Cist. 19; Asin. 213; Asin. 212, *quod volueram faciebatis*; Truc. 162; L. L. 6, 54, itaque ibi olim *consumebatur* omne *quod profanatum erat*; † L. L. 7, 44; † L. L. 9, 100; L. L. 6, 71.

Ubi is the introductory particle eight times: Hist. Frag. 202, 14, *ubi* sol *erat* ardentissimus diu post repente *educebant*. In Hist. Frag. 202, 15; 202, 16; 202, 17, the same clause with *ubi* affects different verbs. Further, we have * Asin. 210; Mil. 856, *ubi bacchabatur* aulla *cassabunt cadi*; Trin. 504; L. L. 5, 146, Hoc *erat* antiquum Macellum, *ubi* olerum copia.

Ut makes the sentence contingent in two cases: Poen. 486, *ut* quisque *acciderat*, eum *necabam* ilico; Hec. 804.

A clause with *dum* has contingent influence in two cases: Heaut. 989, *dum* isti *fuisti* solus . . tibi *dabant*; and † 990 in the same passage, affecting a different verb.

Unde occurs †L. L. 5, 143, Terram *unde exculpserant*, Fossam *vocabant*.

Contingency is expressed by a phrase in twelve cases. There are seven involving the idea of time of day or night: * Mil. 855, with *in die*; Ps. 1180; Ps. 1180, where two clauses are affected by the phrase: *Noctu* in vigiliam quando *ibat* miles, . . . *noctu* . . . *quom tu ibas* simul *Conveniebatne* in vaginam tuam machaera?; And. 83, *observabam mane* illorum servolos venientis aut abeuntis; L. L. 5, 143, hoc *faciebat* religionis causa *die auspicato*; † And. 89, with *alio die*; L. L. 6, 28.

There are four expressions of the time of year: M. S. 140, 4, *vehebatur* cum uxore vehiculo *semel* aut *bis anno*; † R. R. 3, 2, 14; L. L. 6, 11, *Lustrum* nominatum tempus quinquennale a luendo, id est soluendo, quod *quinto quoque anno* vectigalia et ultro tributa per censores *persolvebantur*; R. R. 1, 41, 1, . . . quae prius *verno tempore inserebantur*, nunc etiam solstitiali; R. R. 3, 2, 14, libertus eius qui apparuit Varroni et me *absente patrono* hospitio accipiebat. Verb-meaning influences two cases, *saepe* another.

The context in general may give a contingent idea when no definite clause exists. These cases number twelve in Class A. Hist. Frag. 202, 13, In atras inquit et profundas tenebras eum *claudebant*, is a discussion of the method of treating a prisoner by the Carthaginians. Later, we learn that the prisoner was brought out at midday, hence we infer that the action of *claudebant* is also contingent. Five cases in Mil. 848, 849, * 850, 850, 852, involving the verbs *imperabat*, *sistebant* (with *crebro*), *cassabant*, *promebam*, and *erat*, refer to different occasions of reveling, and the customary accompaniments. Two cases: Poen. 477, viscum legioni dedi Fundasque: eo *praesternebant* folia farferi; Poen. 481, in fundas visci *indebant* grandiculos globos, refer to the supposed tactics of an entire campaign against flying men. And. 86 is the invariable answer to a question which we know has been often asked, likewise And. 90, *comperiebam nihil*. Eun. 407, tum me amicum solum *abducebat* sibi,

refers to several occasions when the king was weary. Compare also Hec. 805, where the whole passage is contingent.

In class B, there are nine instances of contingency. This is expressed by a clause seven times : with *si* : Her. 4, 16, 23, Maiores nostri *si* quam unius peccati mulierem *damnabant*, simplici iudicio multorum maleficiorum convictam *putabant*; relative clauses, in four cases : Cato, de ag. 3, amplissime laudari *existimabatur* *qui* ita *laudabatur*; R. R. 2, 1, 1, qui in oppido cederent quam *qui* rura *coherent* desidiosiores *putabant*; R. R. 3, 1, 5; Cic. Her. 4, 16, 23, *quam* impudicam *iudicarant*, ea *beneficii* quoque damnata *existimabatur*; with *quod* : Asin. 214, *quod nolebam* ac *votueram* . . neque conari id facere *audebatis*; with *ut* : Merc. 216. Note also in the following line, Merc. 217, *credebat*, influenced strongly by its predecessor in the context.

In one case, the general context produces contingency : Her. 4, 16, 23, *quid?* *beneficii* *damnata* *quid putabant?*, where the reference is to a woman condemned of other crimes.

In Class C there are four cases of contingent action, expressed in two sentences by a clause : with *quae* : † Her. 4, 7, 10, *quae enim res apud nostros non erant*, earum rerum nomina non *poterant esse* usitata. We have a clause with *cum* in a case already noted, † L. L. 6, 74, *consuetudo erat cum reus parum esset idoneus*, *ut* . . A phrase occurs in two cases : † R. R. 2, 7, 1, an example of *solebam* with the phrase, *in re militari*; L. L. 6, 8, *solstitium quod sol eo die sistere videbatur*.

Of 456 verbs, there are 101 cases ; Class A has 86, Class B, 9, Class C, 4, Class D, 2. The percentage of the whole number influenced by contingency is 22, but many of these verbs are not affected by contingency alone. In Class A, there are nineteen influenced by verb-meaning, and seven by a particle of recurrent action ; in Class C, the meaning of the verb influences three times, and both cases in Class D are thus affected. 31, then, are otherwise influenced. There result 70 cases in which no other influence than contingency has yet been noted. Adding to 225, we have 295 sentences in

which particles, clauses, phrases or verb-meaning would give an idea of customary action to the sentence without the aid of a special function of the imperfect.

Expressions of temporal contrast in the context also influence the expression of tense function. We may have a temporal adverb, or adverbs, or some substantive indicating or implying time long past. For examples,

(1), complete expression by two temporal adverbs: L. L. 5, 3; *nunc dicunt eum quem tum dicebant Perduellum*;

(2), use of a single adverb or phrase:

(a), of past time: L. L. 9, 56, nam et *tum omnes mares et feminae dicebantur Columbae*;

(b), of present time: Cato de sumptu suo, Jord. 37, 19, quod in rei publicae bene fecissim unde gratiam *capiebam*, *nunc illud memorare non audeo*;

(3), a subject combined with an adverb: L. L. 7, 84, id enim non solum *antiqui dicebant Scortum sed etiam nunc dicimus Scortia quae e coris . . facta*;

(4), two contrasting subjects: R. R. 1, 13, 6, *illi enim faciebant* ad fructuum rationem, *hi faciunt* ad libidines indomitas;

(5), the subject alone: R. R. 2, 1, 1, *nostri maiores* non sine causa *praeponebant* rusticos Romanos urbanis.

Class (1), where the contrast is expressed by adverbs of past and of present time, usually involving a contrast in tenses, is represented in Class A by sixteen cases:

tum and *nunc*: † Var. M. S. 216, 1, ubi *tum comitia habebant*, ibi *nunc fit mercatus*; † Men. 1122; † Men. 1123; † L. L. 5, 3;

tunc and *nunc*: L. L. 5, 117, cornua quod ea quae *nunc sunt ex aere, tunc fiebant* bubulo ex cornu; M. S. 126, 9;

olim and *nunc*: † L. L. 9, 100 (c), de infectis Sum quod *nunc dicitur olim dicebatur Esum*; † L. L. 9, 100²; † L. L. 9, 100³ (each time affecting a different verb);

antea and *nunc*: † R. R. 1, 59, 1, quae *antea mostea vocabant, nunc melimela appellant*; † Meyer, Frag. Orat., p. 222;

ante and *nunc*: † L. L. 5, 3, multa enim verba aliud *nunc ostendunt, aliud ante significabant*;

antehac and *nunc*: † Most. 731;

primum and *nunc*: L. L. 6, 16, nam aliquot locis vindemiae *primum* ab sacerdotibus publice *fiebant* ut Romae etiam *nunc*;

primo: L. L. 5, 91;

prius and *nunc*: R. R. 1, 41, 1 (c).

In 2 (a), where an adverbial expression of past time implies a contrast, Class A has 53 cases; 47 expressed by an adverb, five by a phrase, and one by a clause equivalent to an adverb:

tum, in thirteen sentences: As. 207 (c), *Tum* mi aedes quoque *arridebant*; Asin. 207^a, where *tum* influences the second verb in the sentence; 208 with *aibas*; † 210 with *erant*; And. 86 (c); Eun. 407 (c); *tum* me convivam solum *abducebat* sibi; R. R. 3, 6, 6, quod potius factum *tum* luxuriosi quam severi boni viri *laudabant*; R. R. 3, 3, 7; L. L. 7, 40; propter inauratos regios clupeos quibus eorum *tum* ornatae *erant* tresses; L. L. 7, 40^b, *tum* influencing here another verb; † L. L. 9, 56; † L. L. 5, 95; † L. L. 5, 3 (c);

olim, in nine cases: Enn. Ann. 155, quos *olim* Fauni vatesque *canebant*; Pers. 824, nequeo leno quin tibi saltem staticulum *olim* quem Hegea *faciebat*; Pers. 826; † L. L. 5, 177, appellatae eae multae quod *olim* unum *dicebant* multum; L. L. 6, 54 (c); † L. L. 5, 43; L. L. 7, 56; L. L. 5, 81; L. L. 6, 47;

primum, in five cases: † Hist. Frag. 123, 22, *primum*, inquit, contra consuetudinem imperatorum ipse pro lectis lecticis *utebatur*; R. R. 1, 10, 2, bina iugera quod a Romulo *primum* divisa *dicebantur* viritim; † R. R. 3, 17, 6; L. L. 5, 33; L. L. 5, 36, quod *primum* ex agro plano fructus *capiabant* campus dictus;

primo, in six cases: * R. R. 3, 1, 7, agriculturam *primo* propter paupertatem maxime indiscretam *habebant*; R. R. 3, 1, 7^a; † R. R. 3, 9, 19 (c); L. L. 5, 105, panis quod *primo* figura *faciebant* ut mulieres in lanificio panus: L. L. 5, 89; † L. L. 10, 70, (c);

primi: L. L. 5, 89, hastati dicti qui *primi* hastis *pugnabant*; *prius*, accompanied by *olim* and influencing two verbs

Bacch. 438, *olim populi prius honorem capiebat suffragio*
Quam magistro desinebat esse dicto oboediens;

quondam : † Truc. 381 ;

ante, in four cases : † Capt. 474 ; † Stic. 185 ; † R. R. 2, 11, 5,
mamma enim rumis sive ruminare, ut ante dicebant . . ; Her.
4, 22, 31, Sulpicio, qui paulo ante omnia concedebant, eum
brevi spatio non modo vivere sed etiam sepeliri prohibuerunt;

ante hunc : † Enn. Ann. 155, nec dicti studiosus quisquam
erat ante hunc ;

antehac, accompanied by *tum* : Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 21 (c),
antehac si flabat aquilo aut auster inopia, tum erat piscati ;

antequam : L. L. 5, 86, ex his *mittebantur antequam* con-
ciperetur qui res repeteret ;

priusquam : † Asin. 143 ;

interea, referring to two points of time in the past : * Phorm.
 365, saepe *interea mihi senex narrabat se hunc neglegere*
cognatum ;

interim : * And. 109.

A point in past time is expressed by a phrase five times :
Me puerō, † Aquil. 4, Fab. Pall. ; * L. L. 5, 125,—haec in
 aedibus ad compluvium apud multos *me puerō ponebatur* ;
istuc aetatis, referring to youth : † Heaut. 110, *in eo tempore*,
 defined by a clause in the imperfect : † Hist. Frag. p. 83, 27 ;
anno, defined by a clause with *dum* in the indefinite perfect ;
 † Truc. 393.

The same idea is expressed by a clause † Bacch. 421,
Eademne erat haec disciplina tibi quom tu adolescens eras ?

2 (b), is the class referring to the use of an adverb of pres-
 ent time alone to indicate a contrast. Of this, we have 22
 cases :

nunc, in fourteen sentences: Cato, de sumptu suo, unde
 gratiam *capiebam nunc* idem illud memorare non audeo ;
 † Enn. Ribb. p. 79; Truc. 162 (c); Men. 716, Quia idem
faciebat Hecuba quod *tu nunc facis*; Men. 717 (c), where *nunc*
 affects another verb; R. R. 3, 3, 8, neque enim *erat* magnum
 id saeptum quod *nunc . . complura iugera . . concludunt* ;
 † R. R. 1, 13, 6; † L. L. 9, 56. *Nunc* appears six times in a

clause of comparison with *ut*, attended in five cases by *etiam*:
 † Varr. L. L. 5, 121, *mensa vinaria rotunda nominabantur Cilibantum, ut etiam nunc in castris*; L. L. 5, 118; L. L. 5, 166; L. L. 5, 106; L. L. 5, 166²; L. L. 5, 25, with the shorter form, *ut nunc*;

postea, in five examples: L. L. 5, 143, *postea, qui fiebat orbis, Urbis principium*; L. L. 7, 52; L. L. 5, 116; Mil. 850 (c); Mil. 850 (c), where the particle influences both verbs, *mihi imperabat, ego promebam postea*;

posteaquam, in three sentences: † L. L. 5, 108; † L. L. 5, 162, *posteaquam ubi cenabant, plura facere coeperunt*; L. L. 5, 167.

The subject of the verb, which by its meaning declares that the action expressed took place in distant past time, may occur in connection with an adverb of present time. This is the third way of expressing contrast, and it is exemplified in Class A by three cases. The subject is *antiqui*, in two cases the adverb combined with it is *nunc*: † L. L. 5, 96, *ita enim antiqui dicebant, non ut nunc, πρόβατον*; † L. L. 7, 84. With *postea*, we have: † * L. L. 7, 26, in multis verbis in quo *antiqui dicebant* S *postea dicunt R.*

Class (4) indicates contrast by two contrasting subjects, and comprises three cases, all in Class A: *antiqui* and *nos*: R. R. 2, 8, 3, Arcadico *ut antiqui dicebant, ut nos experti sumus*, Reatino. In R. R. 1, 13, 6, *illi* and *hi*; in Truc. 217, *nos* and *is* understood.

In Class (5) the subject, or some substantive in the sentence, makes it certain that the action ceased before the present. In Class A, occur 33 cases. In nine, *antiqui* is employed: † L. L. 64; D *antiqui non R in hoc dicebant* † L. L. 5, 166; † L. L. 5, 79; † L. L. 6, 4; † L. L. 7, 36; * † L. L. 9, 83; † R. R. 1, 8, 6, *quod antiqui vocabant cestum*; † R. R. 3, 9, 19; † R. R. 3, 9, 19². A form of *antiquus*, in three cases: † R. R. 1, 10, 2 . . quantum as *antiquos noster ante bellum punicum pendebat*. Here the time is also given by a phrase antedating an event in the past; † R. R. 2, 5, 3, *Graccia enim antiqua . . taura vocabat italos*; L. L. 5, 146 (c);

An oblique form, in three cases: L. L. 5, 164, quod ea pecus in bucita circum antiquum oppidum *exigebant*; † R. R. 3, 12, 6, ego arbitror a graeco vocabulo *antico*, quod eum Aeolis λέποπις *appellabant*; † R. R. 2, 1, 6.

Maiores nostri, five times, four times as subject: R. R. 3, 1, 4, itaque non sine causa *maiores nostri* ex urbe in agros *redigebant* suos cives; R. R. 1, 7, 2; † R. R. 2, 2, 3(c), R. R. 2, 2, 3, (c). In R. R. 3, 3, 6, the phrase occurs in the genitive and is accompanied by *anticus*, primus enim ille gradus *anticus* maiorum *nostrum erat*.

Avos ac proavos: † R. R. 3, 2, 6;

Patres nostri: M. S. 16, 9, 8, . . . ut quondam *patres nostri* loquebantur, where the expression of contrast is aided by *quondam*. Note cases: Men. 1118, 1119, where the presence of the noun *patri* as well as the general trend of the passage make contrast in time evident, and Men. † 1131, with *matri*;

Tritavi nostri: † R. R. 3, 3, 2, leporaria te accipere volo non ea quae *tritavi nostri dicebant* ubi soli lepores sint;

Nostri, alone in two cases, as subject: † L. L. 5, 166, Lectus mortui fertur: *dicebant Feretrum nostri*;

in a phrase, *apud nostros*: Her. 4, 7, 10, quae enim res *apud nostros non erant*;

senes aliquot, assisted by the phrase *mea memoria*: † L. L. 6, 59, quod *mea memoria*, ut Aelius, sic *senes aliquot* nimium novum verbum quod esset *vitabant*;

priscus, in the subject: * M. S. 139, 9.

In a funeral inscription, we assume that the statement is true of past time: † * C. I. L. 1011, ille *meo officio* Eos adsiduo florebat. Observe the influence of the subject *Gracchus* in a narrative of events of the distant past: Asell. 110, 6, with *proficiscebantur*. This verb is likewise strongly influenced by the context. Further, we have *Graii*, † Men. 715.

Class B has two cases of (1), both with *olim* and *nunc*: † Epid. 135, illam *amabam olim*: *nunc iam alia cura*; Her. 426.

Class (2) is represented by four cases, two with *tum*: Eun. 405; L. L. 6, 71, Quod *tum et praetorium ius ad legem et*

censorium iudicium adaequum *existimabatur*; *priusquam*: † Hec. 294, *priusquam* hanc uxorem duxi, *habebam* alibi animum amori deditum; *tempus*, referring to a distant date: R. R. 3, 1, 3, quod *tempus* si referas ad illud . . quo agricoli sunt coepti . . nec murus et porta quid esset *sciebant*.

Class (3) has two examples: with *nunc*, R. R. 1, 13, 6, cetera ut essent in villa huiuscmodi quae cultura quaereret, *providebant*, *nunc* contra; *nunc*, with *postquam*: † Most. 155, optumi quique *expetebant* a me doctrinam sibi *nunc postquam* mihi sum . . .

In two cases, the subject influences the time, in all instances the phrase being *maiores nostri*: † R. R. 2, 1, 1; Her. 4, 16, 23 (c), *Maiores nostri* si quam unius peccati mulierem damnabant, simplici iudicio multorum maleficiorum convictam *putabant*.

In Class C, *ante* and *nunc* are used with *solebam*: † L. L. 5, 126. Of Class (2) two cases with *solebam* occur: † Capt. 482; † L. L. 6, 74. Of (5) we have three cases: † Her. 4, 7, 10 (c) where *apud nostros* influences also an auxiliary verb; *patres* et *avos*: † R. R. 1, 2, 1, a case of *solebam*; *Chares*: † Her. 4, 6, 9.

There are then, in 456 verbs, 154 cases of contrast in time, 130 in A, ten in B, six in C, eight in D. Of them, 33 per cent. are influenced by temporal contrast. The verb-meaning implies customary action in A 63 times; in B four times; in C, six; and in D, eight. Particles occur in A five times where the sentence is not influenced by verb-meaning. Thirteen contingent clauses modify verbs otherwise not affected. In 99 cases, contrast in time does not influence alone, and but 55 cases may be added to the 295 already noted, making 350 cases in which the imperfect tense does not express customary past action alone. This is 76.7 per cent. of the whole number.

In Class A, 106 cases remain for discussion. None of these can be grouped under the definite headings which precede, but the influence of the wider context, or of certain words in the sentence is so strong in the following 68 cases that it

cannot be disregarded. In two sentences, distributive numerals affect the customary idea: R. R. 3, 17, 3, Hirrus circum piscinas suas ex aedificiis duodena milia sestertia capiebat; L. L. 5, 89, singulae tribus Titiensium Ramnium Lucerum milia militum mittebant.

In Her. 4, 6, 9, omnia *coram magistrum* facientem videbat, we see that the pupil *learns* from this action of seeing, that this is his activity as a scholar, hence it must be a repeated action.

We have a regular institution : L. L. 3, 143, oppida *condebant* in Latio *Etrusco ritu* multi. Once *merces* generalizes the sentence: R. R. 3, 17, 3, eam omnem mercedem escis quas dabat piscibus consumebat, in the meaning "income."

Verbs of customary past action in the context have influence five times: *Mos erat*, in Cato de mor. 52, 2, and de mor. 57, 2^a. The following cases are accompanied by parallel verbs of customary action or have some influence over verbs of customary action ; R. R. 1, 2, 7, in fundo suo Faventino hanc multitudinem *dicebat* suas *reddere vites*. (Note the meaning of the dependent verb *vites reddere*, to yield); R. R. 3, 17, 8, hac incuria laborare *aiebat* M. Lucullum, ac piscinas eius despiciebat ; L. L. 6, 21, Meditrinalia dies dictus a medendo quod Flaccus flamen Martialis *dicebat* hoc die *solutum* vinum et vetus *libari* et degustari medicamenti causa. The verb *solutum* makes this case certain. In R. R. 3, 10, 2, *in legendo* generalizes.

In 57 cases from one work of an author, the *de Lingua Latina* of Varro, the reason for a name is given, usually an ancient or an obsolete term, or at least one given in the past. Hence the action in all these cases ceases before the present, and inasmuch as the action must have been so often repeated as to warrant the giving of an especial name, it would be customary action in any case, e. g.: L. L. 5, 105, *Sicut granarium*, ubi granum frumenti *condebat*; L. L. 5, 105; L. L. 5, 86; L. L. 5, 143; L. L. 6, 14; L. L. 5, 161; L. L. 5, 181; L. L. 5, 141; L. L. 5, 127; L. L. 5, 119; L. L. 5, 91; L. L. 7, 44; L. L. 5, 155; L. L. 6, 22; L. L. 5, 168; L. L.

5, 34; L. L. 5, 34; L. L. 5, 108; L. L. 5, 183; L. L. 5, 142; L. L. 5, 141; L. L. 5, 43; L. L. 5, 35; L. L. 5, 35; L. L. 5, 35; L. L. 5, 25; L. L. 5, 128; L. L. 5, 127; L. L. 5, 116; L. L. 5, 106; L. L. 5, 89; L. L. 5, 89; L. L. 5, 182; L. L. 5, 127; L. L. 5, 124; L. L. 5, 124; L. L. 7, 58; L. L. 6, 4; L. L. 5, 167; L. L. 5, 130; L. L. 5, 132; L. L. 5, 123; L. L. 5, 161; L. L. 5, 161; L. L. 5, 36; L. L. 6, 66; L. L. 5, 167; L. L. 5, 82; L. L. 6, 74; L. L. 7, 74; L. L. 5, 156; L. L. 5, 160; L. L. 5, 141; L. L. 5, 139; L. L. 5, 155; L. L. 5, 162; L. L. 5, 125.

In Class B five cases remain for discussion. In two the context has an influence not to be disregarded. In one of these, other verbs of customary past action affect the tense : Cato Jordan. 82, 10, avaritiam omnia vitia habere *putabant* : in the other, L. L. 6, 89, scribit praetorem accensum *solutum esse* iubere ubi ei *videbatur* horam esse tertiam inclamare horam tertiam esse, *solutum esse* and the nature of the action are strong influences.

In Class C, in L. L. 5, 34, *poterat* stands in a clause giving a reason for a name.

Adding these 71 cases, in which the imperfect tense is not without influence from its surroundings, we have 421 cases influenced by the context, 92 per cent. of the whole. This large proportion of cases, in which a verb in any tense referring to the past other than the imperfect would have the customary idea, indicates either that the tense of a verb in cases of customary past action has not as much force as was supposed, or else that in early Latin the tense was not strong enough in the expression of this function to stand entirely alone, and hence the function referred to by the grammars as one of the chief uses of the imperfect tense is a relatively late development.

In the remaining instances of Class A one refers to language usage : L. L. 5, 68, Serpere et Proserpere idem *dicebat* ut Plautus quod scribit . .

Seven cases express circumstances which indirectly give rise to a name, e. g. : L. L. 5, 125, altera vasaria mensa *erat* lapidea quadrata oblonga una columella, *vocabatur* Carti-

bulum; L. L. 5, 107; L. L. 5, 120; L. L. 5, 120; L. L. 7, 93; L. L. 5, 162; L. L. 5, 126.

Three are sentences of a very general character in which, however, the tense has a clear influence: L. L. 5, 143, *id est, iunctis bobus, tauro et vacca, interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum*; L. L. 6, 70, *spondebatur pecunia aut filia nuptiarum causa*; Her. 4, 16, 23; . . . in viris idemne hoc *observabant?*

In nine cases, we have the dependent clauses which make the main verb contingent, and which are also general in character: Cato de fen. 39, 8; Cato de Ag. 2; Cato Jord. 82, 11; Mil. 856; L. L. 5, 180, with *qui petebant*; L. L. 5, 180, with *qui inficiebatur*; Trin. 503; Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 21; R. R. 1, 29, 3.

There is one relative clause in a general sentence: R. R. 3, 17, 3, *escis quas dabat* piscibus. The indefinite pronoun has some force, Rud. 1226, and Rud. 745. Aul. 499 may be influenced by the comparative, and R. R. 3, 2, 7, shows some contrast in its time with the present.

Five we know to be customs from the general character of the work, yet here the tense seems to express custom without definite aid: L. L. 5, 108, *in quo erant poma quae minus cruda esse poterant decoquebant* in olla; L. L. 5, 43, *itaque eo ex urbe advehabantur ratibus*; L. L. 5, 86, *nam per hos siebat* ut iustum conciperetur bellum; L. L. 5, 119, *ex his enim funiculi ardentes figebantur*; L. L. 5, 166, *lecticas ne essent in terra sublimis in his ponebant*.

In R. R. 3, 17, 26, *neque satis erat* eum non pasci ex piscinis, "to be fed from the fish ponds," implies customary activity necessitating daily action, hence his attitude regarding it is a customary one, and the whole is equivalent to *pascebatur*. In M. S. 186, 5, *ille ales Gallus, qui suscitabat Atticarum Musarum scriptores*, the plural object and the range of time implied by it confirm the recurrent nature of the verb-action.

Class B has two cases of general customs, with relative pronouns in the clauses: L. L. 5, 162, *ubi quid conditum*

esse *volebant*, a celando Cellam appellarunt; L. L. 7, 73, has *quaedam*. In one, the verb is in a dependent clause, which makes the main verb contingent, hence it is generalized: Asin. 213, quod *nolebam* ac votueram de industria fugiebatis.

There are in all, 456 cases.

A small class of imperfects must now be discussed, which have a customary coloring, but in which the time of the imperfect has a different aspect, and which are like the English progressive perfect definite, translated, "I have been doing," and are therefore comparable with the Latin perfect definite. In Class D, several cases occur, among them, Capt. 244, quom *antehac* pro iure *imperitabam* meo, nunc te oro per precem, has a strong customary coloring. The tense is made plain by *antehac*, showing that the actions, not only frequentative but also customary in the past, extend up to the moment of speaking. The other cases follow: Pers. 20, miquidem tu iam *eras* mortuos quia non te *visitabam*. (In this we are sure of the temporal reference on account of the particle *iam*.) Asin. 341, qui . . *subvectabant*; Poen, 1391, *Iam pridem . . expectabam*; Rud. 222, *perdidisti* spem qua me *oblectabam*; Heaut. 260, *cantabat*; Hec. 651, *optabamus*.

In three cases of *solebam*, the impression given does not differ from that of *solutus est*. *Antehac* makes the time certain: Enn. Ann. 144; Amp. 711, quia salutare advenientem me *solebas antedhac*; Epid. 99, tuquidem *antehac* aliis *solebas* dare consilia. The actions begin in the past but continue into the present. They are almost equivalent to the perfect definite, *solutus sum*, and should be compared with such cases.

True. 83, quem *antehac* odiosum sibi esse *memorabat* mala, in Class A, shows a slight contrast in time, for we learn from the context that the subject does not express the same opinion now. Note, however, the particle *antehac*, which brings the action up to the present. We have in Aul. 114, *salabant prius*.

There are three cases in Class B: Enn. 278, *scibas* natum ingenuum Aiacem cui tu obsidionem *paras*, where the present context makes the meaning clear; Merc. 815, Pol haud *censebam* istarum esse operarum patrem. Here the action expressed by *censebam* comes up to the present, for the speaker has just been struck with surprise at inconsistency on the part of the person referred to. Not only have we the idea, "That never used to be my estimate of him," but also, and far more prominent, "I do not think so now, except when I see this one proof, and I did not up to this instant." We may also quote; And. 176 *verebar*.

These cases form a transition to the customary action expressed by the perfect. They should not be omitted from a survey of the imperfect of customary action because recurrent ideas are present in the sentences. They show how the customary idea may be present yet overshadowed by a more prominent function.

To sum up, verb-meaning influences the action in A in 151 cases; in B in twelve; C, sixteen; D, fourteen; in all, 193, or 42 per cent. of the 456 verbs discussed.

In A, 37 cases are influenced by particles, five also affected by the verb-meaning, and in C, one, also influenced by the verb. In all there are 38, 8 per cent. of the whole, six however, influenced in other ways.

Contingent action occurs in A 86 times; in B, nine; in C, four; in D, twice; 101 in all, 22 per cent. of the whole. Of these, 31 are influenced in other ways.

Contrast in time occurs in 130 cases in A; in B, ten; in C, six; in D, eight; in all, 154, or 33 per cent. of the whole. However, 99 cases are otherwise influenced.

We have, then, 350 cases influenced by the context, and adding 71 which cannot be grouped in this way, we have 421, or 92 per cent.

These 421 cases of the imperfect are so strongly influenced by verb-meaning, particles of recurrent action, clauses, phrases and their equivalents expressing contingency, temporal contrast, and other less easily classified contextual in-

fluences, that the imperfect cannot be said in these cases to express in itself customary action. In Reisig's *Sprachwissenschaft*, Notes (III) 335, we read that in considering cases of the Perfectum Consuetudinis, cases with particles of recurrent action must be thrown out, as the tense alone does not carry the meaning in these cases. So here no cases may be regarded as real examples of the imperfect of customary past action as expressed by the force inherent in that tense unless expressed by the imperfect alone. There remain 35 cases, 32 in Class A and three in Class B, which the most conservative would regard as examples of the uninfluenced use of the imperfect tense to express customary action. Seven sentences in Class A are very clear: L. L. 5, 108; L. L. 5, 43; L. L. 5, 86; L. L. 5, 119; L. L. 5, 166; R. R. 3, 17, 26; M. S. 186, 5. These cases are from Varro, whose work deals with customs.

Of the 25 remaining cases in A, fifteen from Varro refer distinctly either to language uses, or to the cause of a name, or are very general in character, giving reasons for contingent action in the main verb. They may even closely resemble verbs of a contingent character. In the last category come one case from the early poets, four from Plautus, three from Cato and one from Herennius. In B, two cases are from Varro and one from Plautus, all very general in character.

Allowing the widest range, 8 per cent. of the cases collected show the imperfect in unrestricted expression of customary action ; at the narrowest, 1.5 per cent. This investigation shows that in early Latin the imperfect tense needed definition by means of particles or general context to indicate anything in the nature of customary action, the past time, even, being relative to other statements in the sentence. The influence manifests itself largely in the verb-meaning, and many of the same verbs express recurrent action in other tenses. A verb with a strongly marked meaning like *soleo* may express customary action in any sphere of time; where the past is not excluded from consideration, it may express

customary past action. For another verb to indicate this, emphasis on the past action is needed, and it is therefore thrown into the imperfect. Hence there are few cases of the imperfect of *soleo* and allied forms, but many of other verbs. Moreover, a strong temporal contrast is demanded. The action must be conceived at a considerable distance in the past. The emphasis between then and now is marked. In the present, one can see the effect of an habitual activity : one in the past, in a tense as little defined in its scope as the imperfect, must be provided with a definite contrast by means of particles with the present, in order that the reader may have the impression that this is the same sort of action as now, but somewhat different, and in the past ; hence it is expressed by a tense associated with past action, assisted by temporal contrast shown by particles. Particles of recurrent action are infrequent in the imperfect, but clauses and phrases indicating recurrence of the action of the verbs which they influence are numerous. They indicate that a need of more definition was felt even with verb-meaning and temporal contrast. All three influences may appear together, or fewer than these may appear. One may conclude that the imperfect in the expression of customary action needs definition no less than other tenses, and, at least in early Latin, displays such influence in nine-tenths of the cases. Even the residual tenth is not absolutely free from external influence. How far the usage is established in later Latin remains to be proved. In early Latin it is merely in its beginning, appearing in its most advanced stage in Varro, the latest writer considered.

IMPERFECT.

	Total.	Independent.		Dependent.		Sentence-Quest.		Quis-question.	
		Pure.	Contingent.	Pure.	Contingent.	P.	C.	P.	C.
		92	75	205	10	6	1	4	1
A. Physical	393								
B. Psychical.....	31	11	7	11	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
C. Auxiliary:									
I. Colorless	7	1	1	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
	431	104	83	220	12	6	1	4	1
II. <i>Solebam</i>	9	2	.....	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
III. <i>mos erat</i>	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
D. Frequentatives :									
I. Customary	14	8	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	25	11	3	10	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
	456	115	89	230	13	6	1	4	1

CHAPTER III.

THE PERFECT.

The expression of customary past action by the perfect tense is largely due to the influence of the context. We have seen how strongly the context influences the imperfect, and here even a greater number of cases depend for their customary idea upon the meaning of the verb, particles and clauses in the context, and temporal contrast.

Let two divisions be made; (*a*), the perfect definite translated "I have done it," (*b*), the perfect indefinite, translated "I did it." Class (*b*) has the same temporal sphere as the imperfect of customary past action, while (*a*) is like the "immediate past" among the imperfects, and is a transition to the presents where the idea of customary action in the past, though not lacking, is subordinated to that in the present. These two uses of the perfect must be discussed separately, as they are practically different tenses.

We turn first to Class (*a*) or the perfect definite, numbering 172 examples. Of cases under the influence of verb-meaning, the most striking are those in Class C, especially *solitus est* with the infinitive. These number nine, and three lack the infinitive. Caec. Fab. Pall., 128, *Immo vero haec ante solitus sum*, must have *laudare* supplied from the context. Trin. 651, *In foro operam amicis da, ne in lecto amicae ut solitus es*, is easily completed by *dare operam*. Truc. 262, *Eram quidem hercle tu quae solita's comprime, demands comprimere*.

Where the infinitive is expressed, it precedes the auxiliary verb immediately: Merc. 511; Rud. 1075; Her. 4, 9, 13; and follows it, Tit. Fab. Tog. 28. In three instances, it is separated from the verb. The infinitive *esse* in one sentence precedes the verb. Seventy-five per cent., then, precede.

The action is generalized by the introductory words equivalent to particles of recurrent action : C. I. L. 200, 32, *Quiequomque de eo agro vectigal decumas scripturamve pro pecore ex lege Sempronia dare non solitei sunt*, where *queiquomque* generalizes, and *vectigal* and *decumas* indicate recurrent activities in the verb. The time is marked by the particle *ante* once : Cael. Fab. Pall. 128 ; the action, however, comes up to the present, *ante* meaning "before now." The action is contingent, caused by a clause with *dum* : Tit. Fab. Tog. 28, *Terra enim haec est non aqua ubi tu solitu's argutarier Pedibus, cretam dum compescis, vestimenta qui laves.*

The four remaining cases show the force of the perfect in expressing an invariable action, with no other aid than the meaning of the verb: Enn. Ann. 347, *quaerunt in scirpo soliti quod dicere nodum*; Merc. 511, *Quia illim unde huc advecta sum malis bene esse solitumst*; Rud. 1075, *si ille te comprimere solitust, hic noster nos non solet*. Here the perfect is almost like the present in the accompanying clause. Add to these: Cic. Her. 4, 9, 13, *cum sociis qui pro nobis pugnare et imperium nostrum nobiscum simul virtute et industria conservare soliti sunt.*

With these cases of *solitus est*, instances of other verbs expressing customary action in themselves should be discussed. We have the perfect of *consuefacio* once, governing a clause with *ne*, and seventeen cases of the perfect of *consuesco* with the present infinitive. Adel. 52, *postremo, alii clanculum patres quae faciunt, quae fort adulescentia ea ne me celet consuefeci filium*, has *consuefacio*, exhibiting contingent action, produced by the clause with *quae*.

Considering the sentences with *consuesco*, one is found to be in the absolute use, a special idiom with *esse*, perhaps, understood: Cist. 86, *sed tu enumquam cum quiquam viro consuevisti?*

Four cases have such emphasis on the meaning in the present that they are practically equivalent to verbs in the present: Asin. 78, *quamquam illum mater arte contententeque habet patres ut consueverunt*; Asin. 727, *ut consuevere*

homines salus frustratur; Her. 2, 24, 37, utilis est sapientia propterea quod qui sapientes sunt, pietatem colere *consuerunt*; Her. 3, 22, 35, at si quid videmus aut audimus egregie turpe aut honestum inusitatum magnum incredibile ridiculum, id diu meminisse *consuevimus*.

The verb is used without an infinitive nine times, in Cist. 86 in a special meaning. The infinitive is hard to supply from the context: Vidul. 33, talis iactandis tuae *sunt consuetae manus*. Asin. 78; Asin. 727; Capt. 867; Rud. 1074; Stich. 759, proinde ut *consuetu's* antehac celeriter cantionem aliquam occupito . . ; Poen. 612, faciunt scurrae quod *consuerunt*, are easily supplemented, also L. L. 9, 5, *populus unius* versus debet . . uti analogia et si perperam *est consuetus*.

In the eight sentences where the infinitive is expressed, the perfect form appears, Her. 3, 22, 35. It is, however, *memuisse*, equivalent to the present.

Three times, the complementary infinitive implies recurrent action: Pacuv. 260, nimis paene animo es molli qui *consuetus* in armis *aevom agere*; R. R. 2, 9, 7, plerique ut accendant canes qui *consuerunt esse una*; (*esse una* is equivalent to a verb of constant association); Her. 2, 24, 37, with *pietatem colere*.

The influence of a particle is noted twice: *enumquam*, Cist. 86; *diu*, Her. 3, 22, 35.

There are three cases of contingent action. Her. 1, 1, 1, id ipsum *quod datur* otii libentius in philosophia consumere *consuevimus*, has a clause with *quod* referring to time. In Her. 2, 24, 37, contingency is produced by a clause with *qui*, and in Her. 3, 22, 35, the introductory words are *si quid*.

The three remaining cases are: Pers., 170, mandata non *consueri* simul bibere una; R. R. 2, 9, 5, a pastoribus empta melior quae oves sequi *consuevit*; Her. 4, 16, 23, quia talem stultitiam contemnere non imitari *consuevi*. *Desuevi* appears once: Tit. Fab. Tog. 45, Parasitus amovi, lenonem eum aedibus absterrui, *Desuevi*, ne quod ad cenam iret extra consilium meum, with the customary idea in the verb. It is not, however, followed by the infinitive.

Where the infinitive has been expressed, it precedes its auxiliary five times, follows it once, the infinitive being *esse*, and is separated from the verb twice only, showing that the character of these verbs as auxiliaries is well defined, and the verb and infinitive form a close combination.

There are five cases of *mos* with the perfect, two in the form *mos fuit*. In Class A three instances occur : Amp. 46, *mos numquam illi fuit patri meo ut exprobrates*. The subject assists in expressing the customary idea: Most. 114, *magna pars morem hunc induxerunt*. A phrase equivalent to "they have the custom," is in R. R. 2, 10, 9, *quibus mos eorum non denegavit ante nuptias ut . . .* A particle adds to the customary idea, Amp. 46; *numquam*.

Consuetudo also lends a customary coloring to the sentence four times in Class (a), twice as the subject of the verb *declinavit*: L. L. 9, 35, *nam si qua perperam declinavit verba consuetudo . . . hinc rationem ostendit*; L. L. 6, 2. It is the subject of *utor*: L. L. 6, 78, *sed quod his magis promiscue quam diligenter consuetudo est usa translaticiis utimur verbis*. It is employed in a phrase, *minus* assisting the expression: L. L. 9, 77, *nisi quod minus est tritum in consuetudine quam Diespiter*.

There are then 35 auxiliary verbs and formulaic expressions in which the meaning of the words employed for the verbal idea necessitates a customary coloring for the sentence. They should be considered as parallel with the immediate past uses of the imperfect, because the sphere of time which they cover is the same, the entire past, with an extension into the present, and with the present, because here the perfect encroaches on its territory just as the present, implying custom, extends back into the past. The difference lies in the point of view from which the two actions are regarded.

There are five verbs of frequentative action: Bacch. 195, *sed tu quid factitasti mandatis super?* Poen. 508; Rud. 584, are like this case in showing no especial frequentative force.

In two examples, particles assist the customary idea: *saepe* and *volgo*: Stich. 167, *Auditavi saepe hoc volgo dicier;*

saepe: Lucil. 92, *saepe* quod ante *optasti* freta Messana et Regina videbis. To regard this case as a perfect definite seems more in keeping with an exhortation of this character.

Of the three main classes of verbs, A is largest numerically. The verb itself may express customary action. There are 30 cases in Class A where the verb-meaning has customary coloring. We have the verb "to train :" Caec. Fab. Pall. 42, nam quam duriter vos *educavit* atque asperiter non negat. Adel. 962, usque a pueris *curavi* ambos sedulo, is to be compared, also Adel. 352; R. R. 2, 4, 3, agri enim cultura ab initio *fui studiosus*; Cist. 379, ad cubitaram . . . magis sum *exercita*.

Four verbs involve habitual speech: Ps. 124, at hoc *per volgatumst* minus; Heaut. 16, quod *rumores distulerunt* malevoli, Heaut. 269, the discussion of a name; And. 809.

Three verbs express action several times repeated: Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 133, *invitavit plusculum* hic se in prandio; Lucil. Sat. 745; Truc. 50, sin *increbravit*, ipsus gaudet.

Verbs of service are exemplified: Trin. 300, semper ego usque ad hanc aetatem ab ineunte adulescentia Tuis *servivi servitutem imperiis*.

Constant association is implied: Truc. 94, cum ea quoque etiam mihi *fuit commercium*; Heaut. 183, mihi magna cum eo iam inde a pueritia *fuit semper familiaritas*.

Passing one's life or a long period of time involves repeated action: Acc. 417, Tun dia Mede's cuius aditum expectans *pervixi* usque adhuc?; Adel. 863, ille suam *egit semper vitam* in otio; Sext. Turp. 142. A long space of time is indicated: Pacuv. 10, frendere *noctes misera* quas *perpessa sum*; Acc. 557; Poen. 1239; Quia *annos multos* feilias meas *celavisti*.

Two verbs indicate so many occurrences of the thing described that it becomes a part of character: Capt. 418, mihi *obsequiosus semper fuisti*; Heaut. 197, *fuit senex importunus semper*; Capt. 938, servom quem hic reliqueram Pignus pro me, qui mihi *melior quam sibi semper fuit*.

Two expressions with *habui* indicate continual activity: Mil. 1355, Quamquam alios *fideliores* semper *habuisti* tibi; Trin. 313, Istaec ego mihi semper *habui* aetati integumentum. Curn. 653, hunc *servavi* semper mecum una anulum; C. I. L. 203, 4, quae semper in amicitia populi Romani *manse-runt*; Caec. Fab. Pall. 75, aerumnam pariter *tetulisti* meam; Fab. Pall. 149, Quibus rem rebus *despoliasti* foede dum in lustris lates, where, "to squander property," involves several acts, are all plain cases of the force of verb-meaning.

Particles affect 89 verbs: *semper*, in 21 cases, e. g. † C. I. L. 203, 4; Meyer, frag. Orat. 296, quod *semper* a bonis discedisti; Enn. Ann. 195, haudquaquam quemquam *semper* fortuna *secuta est*; Enn. 269; Asin. 201, *semper oculatae manus sunt* nostrae; Ps. 77, genus noster *semper* siccoculum *fuit*; Capt. 393, qui me honore honestiorem *semper fecit*; † Trin. 300; † Mil. 1355; † Capt. 418; † Capt. 938; † Trin. 313; † Curn. 653; Pers. 58, Quasi mures *semper* edere alienum cibum; And. 766, recte ego *semper fugi* has nuptias; † And. 809; † Heaut. 197; † Heaut. 183; † Add. 863. Several verbs are involved: Adel. 663, *docui monui* bene *praecepi semper* quae *potui omnia*; Cic. Her. 4, 35, 47, petulantissime enim *semper iste oppugnavit senatum*;

saepe, in 32 instances, largely from poetry: Acc. Fab. Pall. 9, *saepe ignavavit* fortem in spe expectatis; Naev. Fab. Pall. 108, etiam qui res magnas manu *saepe gessit* gloriose; Naev. Fab. Att. 73, *saepe eadem sum grassatus* via; Fab. Att. 49; Pacuv. 244, ut pulverem manibus isdem quibus Ulixii *saepe permulsi*; Lucil. Sat. 446; Lucil. Sat. 574, cui *saepe* mille *imposui* plagarum in die; Amp. 442, *saepe* in speculum *inspexi*; Bacch. 133, qui tibi nequiquam *saepe monstravi* bene; Asin. 349; Cist. 504; Capt. 44; Capt. 109; Capt. 256, quom cavisse ratus est, *saepe* is cautor *captus est*; Capt. 328; Capt. 998; Men. 839; Merc. 375; Mil. 885; Pers. 848; Poen. 131; Rud. 376; Stich. 272; Cato Cael. 59, 3, si em *percussi* *saepe* in columnis abii; Cato de aedil. 67, 4; Cato in Fur. 49, 7; Adel. 688, *fecere* alii *saepe* item boni; Eun. 874; R. R. 2, 9, 1; R. R. 3, 17, 5, ita *saepe* cum eo ad

villam *fui*; L. L. 5, 13, *saepe enim ad limitem arboris radices sub vicini prodierunt segetem*; Her. 4, 14, 20, qui sunt qui foedera *saepe ruperunt?*;

umquam or *numquam*, in 15 cases: Naev. Fab. Pall. 13, secus si *umquam* quicquam feci, carnificem cedo; Acc. 112, qui neque *terraest datus* nec cineris causa *umquam evasit vapos*; Sext. Turp. 199, nemo *umquam vidit ebrium ire inter diu*; Pomp. Fab. Att. 97; Capt. 960, neque vere neque tu recte adhuc *fecisti umquam*; Bacch. 911; M. S., 136, 5, quam philosophia commalaxare me pararem, neque irato mihi habenas dedi *umquam* neque cupiditati non imposui frenos; Lucil. Sat. 122, *cenasti in vita numquam* bene cum omnia in ista consumis squilla; Scaen. R. p. 4, 27; Poen. 292; Plaut. Frag. 115; Cist. 44; Men. 959, postquam natus sum *numquam aegrotavi*; Cato Hist. Frag. 60, 15: Rhodienses tamen Persen publice *numquam adiuvere*; Heaut. 155, tu illum *numquam* ostendisti quanti penderes.

There are 21 examples of the use of other particles:

quotiens: Men. 784: *quotiens tandem edixi tibi Ut caveres neuter ad me iretis cum querimonia*; Men. 787;

maxime: † Sext. Turp. 142, ut quisque minimo contentus fuit Ita fortunatam vitam *vixit maxime*; † Adel. 352;

minus: † Ps. 124; *magis*: † Cist. 379;

plusculum: † Sext. Turp. F. Pall. 133;

dapsilius: † Lucil. Sat. 745; scit bene enim non longicum mortalibus morbum esse in vino ubi qui *invitavit dapsilius* se;

raro: Hec. 552, si modeste ac *raro* hoc *fecit* nonne dissimulare nos *magis* humanumst?;

compluriens: Cato Frag. 74, 18, contumelias mihi *dixisti* compluriens;

modo . modo: ex. incert Frag. Fab. Pall. 43, *modo* pueros *modo* adulescentes in cursu a tergo insequens nec opinantis *adsecuta est*;

miliens: And. 946, ex ipsa *miliens audivi*;

cottidie: Cist. 43, haec quidem ecastor *cottidie* viro *nupsit*;

sedulo: † Adel. 962.

Phrases are employed: Merc. 3, non ego item facio ut alios
in comoediis vi vidi amoris facere;
novem hiemis: † Acc. 557;
noctes: † Pacuv. 10;
multos annos: Enn. 49; † Poen. 1239;
usque: And. 262; Most. 734, prospere vobis cuncta *usque*
 adhuc *processerunt*.

Contingency affects eleven cases. It is produced by a clause with *cum* three times: * Capt. 256, *quom cavisse ratus est*, saepe is cautor *captus est*; L. L. 9, 26, ac *cum sex horis aestus creverunt*, totidem *decreverunt*; * M. S. 136, 5;

with *si*: * Cato, Cael. 59, 3: with *ut*: * † Sext. Turp. 142; *dum*: † Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 149; *postquam*: Men. 959;

An indefinite relative clause occurs: * And. 262 qui me tam levi *passus est* animo usque adhuc *quae me quonque animo lubitumst* facere. There are two relative clauses: * Adel. 963; * Cist. 504, *feci saepe quod factum queror*. A phrase occurs: * Lucil Sat. 574, *cui saepe mille imposui plagarum in die*.

We have a slight temporal contrast: † Heaut. 269, *quae est dicta mater esse ei antehac non fuit*; † R. R. 2, 43, *agri enim cultura ab initio fui studiosus*. These phrases seem to increase the force of the perfect.

Two cases have not yet been touched: Acc. 109, *multi iniquo, mulier, animo sibi mala auxere* in *malis*, Quibus natura prava magis quam fors aut fortuna obfuit. The plural number and the phrase, *in malis*, make it an obscure case of contingent action. In Phorm. 786, the action has been going on a long time, shown by *dudum*, and must have been repeated in that time: *re dudum opitulatas*.

There are fourteen cases in Class B where verb-meaning is influential. *Habeo*, meaning, "to regard, consider," occurs: Most. 30, *Quo nemo adaeque iuventute ex omni Attica antehac est habitus* parcus nec magis continens. Here the whole populace agrees, and the effect is the same as if a verb of rumor had been used. A reputation implies repeated acts of thought; Ps. 16, *tu me antidhac supremum*

habuisti comitem consiliis tuis, involves a consultation of the chief adviser more than once; Trin. 317, Sarta tecta tua *praecepta usque habui*. Here, if an estimate is high, the state of mind implies repeated acts of thought. A close parallel is: Naev. Fab. Pall. 9, ego semper pluris *feci* *Potioremque habui* libertatem multo quam pecuniam. *Arbitror* in this sense appears three times: Aul. 216, te civem sine mala omni malitia semper *sum arbitratus* et nunc arbitrор; Mil. 1374, Ante hoc factum, hunc *sum arbitratus* semper servom pessum; Bacch. 539. *Ratus est*, in the same sense, is found: Bacch. 549, quem esse amicum *ratus sum* atque ipsus sum; Asin. 861, illum antehac hominem semper *sum frugi ratus*; Truc. 388, consilia semper *summa credidi*. The two following sentences show an estimate of high regard based on many opportunities to judge: And. 574, merito te semper *maxumi feci*; And. 292, si te in germani fratris dilexi loco, sive haec te solum semper *fecit maxumi*. . . . Anxiety is expressed: Stich. 5, *sollicitae noctis et dies soror sumus semper*; And. 303, ut *animus* in spe atque in timore usque antehac *attentus fuit*. Almost all the verbs just mentioned are reinforced in their meaning by an adverb. There are 22 cases of this usage, ten already noted: *Semper*, in 15 cases: Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 160, desere hanc meretricem quae te semel ut nacta est *semper studuit* perdere; † Naev. Fab. Pall. 9; † Aul. 216; † Asin. 861; † Mil. 1374; Stich. 5; † Truc. 388; Poen. 1378; Poen. 1383; Amp. 899; Capt. 140; † And. 292. † And. 574; And. 33; Cato p. 63, 9;

saepe, in three cases: Mil. 1366, . . . *perspexi saepe verum* quom antehac tum hodie maxume; And. 374; Her. 4, 30, 4; *numquam* or *umquam*: Rud. 489, lepida's quae *numquam* pedem *volutisti* in navem cum Hercule una imponere; Pers. 211.

usque: † And. 303; † Trin. 317.

Contingency appears twice: Truc. 255, Is hic amator apud vos qui id *quod dedit id oblitus* datum; *Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 160.

In four sentences, action, occurring more than once, is extended over a long time, shown by a particle: Acc. 16, Tua honestudo Danaos *decepit diu*; Bacch. 1054; Poen. 1347; Poen. 1391.

Other cases with temporal contrast have already been noted, twelve in number: with *semel ut*: Sext. Turp. 160, *iam pridem*: Poen. 1347; Poen. 1391; *iamdudum*: Bacch. 1054; *antehac*: Asin, 861; Enn. Ann. 303; Mil. 1374; *ante hoc*: Bacch. 539; Most. 30; Ps. 16; *antehac* and *hodie*; Mil. 1366; *nunc*: Aul. 216.

84 cases are affected by verb-meaning, or 48 per cent. of the whole number, 172.

Particles affect five cases of the formulaic verbs; 89 in A; and 22 in B, in all 116, or 67 per cent.

Cases of contingent action are rare, numbering 18 or ten per cent.

Temporal particles showing the duration of time and its extent into the present appear in many cases. Six instances may not be classed with the foregoing, but are strongly generalized by temporal particles and other words in the sentence.

The perfect indefinite has 85 cases in all. In the eleven sentences with *solitus est* no example lacks the infinitive. It immediately precedes the verb six times and follows it or is separated from it five times. A frequentative verb appears as the infinitive three times: Ps. 1177, tune etiam *cubitare solitu's* in cunis puer?; Amp. 260, patera donata aureast Qui Pterela *potitare rex est solitus*; Amp. 419. Contrast of time is given eight times: R. R. 3, 16, 1, an *quid tu solitus es* in adulescentia tua domi mulsum non *bibere*, expressed by *in adulescentia*. In C. I. L. 202, 2, 21 and C. I. L. 202, 2, 24, it is shown by the phrase *ante hanc*: utei *ante hanc* legem rogatam de tribus praetoribus praetores *habere sumere solitei sunt*. In Ps. 1177, and Ps. 1178, it is expressed by the subject *puer* understood. In Amp. 260, and Amp. 419, it is shown by the subject, *rex*, who has been slain. In Truc. 161, the time is indicated by a clause with *quom*:

haud istoc modo *solita's* me *ante appellare*, sed blonde *quom* illuc quod apud vos nunc *est*, apud me *habebam*. In the clause with *quom*, the action is in the past, shown by the contrast with *nunc* in the clause within it. Enn. Ann. 160; Lucil. 358, are in narratives of past events. A state of affairs different from the present is in Cist. 247, quae mel-lilam me *vocare* et suavum *solitast* suom. In the eleven cases, then, we have expressed or implied a temporal contrast.

Consuesco occurs five times. There is no infinitive expressed in three sentences, and two: Phorm. 873; Adel. 665, have the special meaning before noted. The infinitive is easily supplied: Asin. 703, Asta igitur ut *consuetus es* puer olim. L. L. 9, 69, quod non erant duo *balnea dicere* non *consuerunt*, has a customary idea in the dependent infinitive. Contingency affects only L. L. 9, 69, where it is produced by a clause with *quod*.

Contrast in time is shown by particles three times, by the subject once: *Olim*: Phorm. 873, cum eius *consuevit olim* matre; Asin. 703; *prior*: Adel. 665. The contrast is indicated by the subject: R. R. 2, 4, 10, equis succidias *Galli* optimas et maximas *facere consuerunt*. L. L. 9, 69 may have *antiqui* supplied from the preceding clause. Temporal contrast is invariably present.

There are two cases of formulæ with *mos*. With *fuit*: Lucil. Sat. 190, iactari caput atque comas, *fluitare* caprones altas frontibus inmissas ut *mos fuit* illis; Cato, in cens. 50, 6. Here the contrast in time is marked by *prius*.

Three phrases involve *consuetudo* accompanied by temporal contrast: L. L. 6, 82, *consuetudo communis* quae cum praeverbis coniuncta *fuerunt*, etiam nunc servat. Contrast in time is shown by *etiam nunc*, and *communis* assists in expressing the customary idea. Further we have: L. L. 9, 12, where the subject indicates that the action ceases before the present; R. R. 2, 1, 6, influenced by *antquam* and the subject. In II, III, IV of Class C, 21 cases belong in the

same sphere of past action as the imperfect of customary action.

In the 18 instances of frequentative verbs, the customary idea is strengthened by a particle three times, once with *crebro*: R. R. 3, 16, 29, *ut olim crebro Sabini factitaverunt*; with *semper*: Phorm. 742, *quem semper te esse dictitasti*; and with *maxime*: R. R. 3, 9, 2.

Twice a clause makes the action contingent: Cato de. leg. arch. 52, 1, 4, *qui antea denis obsonitavere*, *postea centenis obsonitavere*, indicated by the clause with *qui*; and Epid. 432, with *cum*.

Contrast in time is expressed in thirteen cases. Cato de. leg. arch. 52, 1, 4, has a complete expression in *antea* and *postea*; similarly de. leg. arch. 52, 1, 4, with the dependent verb; *olim*: R. R. 3, 16, 29; Rud. 1081, *ea quae olim parva gestavit crepundia*; *quondam* and *pater*: Acc. Fab. Pall. 14; *in adulescentia*: Epid. 432. The subjects indicate contrast: R. R. 1, 17, 1, *iique quos obaeraros nostri vocitarunt*; Eun. 42; Adel. 563; Curc. 602; Amp. 334; Eun. 783; Phorm. 742.

There remain four cases: Cato de sign. 69, 7; Cato de sign. 69, 7; Cato, Frag. Hist. 41, 18; Cato de r. Flor. 64, 7.

The meaning of the verb in 24 cases of class A must next be considered. Verbs of naming or calling: Enn. Ann. 222, Marci filius . . *is dictus* ollis popularibus olim; Hist. Frag. 52, 20; R. R. 2, 1, 6; R. R. 2, 1, 28; L. L. 9, 69; L. L. 9, 17; L. L. 6, 63. Service is expressed in the following verbs: Lucil. Sat. 175, *hic solus vigilavit*, opinor; Mil. 96, *quo modo ad hunc devenerim in servitutem ab eo quoi serviri prius*; Adel. 495. *Fuerunt* expresses the customary idea: C. I. L. 204, 1, 33, *ea omnia Termensium maiorum Pisidarum utei sunt fuerunt*; Enn. Sat. 483; L. L. 9, 87, *Antiqui his numeris fuerunt contenti*. Note also: M. S. 217, 1; Hist. Frag. 54, 8; C. I. L. 204, 1, 31; C. I. L. 204, 1, 26; C. I. L. 204, 1, 18; L. L. 7, 29. There are two cases of *habui*: Frag. Hist. 44, 20 (Cato), *agrum quem Volsci habuerunt*; Stich. 49. A verb of value appears: Merc. 297, *bis tanto valeo quam valui prius*; and of business activity: Eun. 246, *olim isti fuit*

generi quondam *quaestus* apud saeclum prius. Two verbs imply recurrent activities in Most. 200, *nilo ego quam nunc tu amata sum atque uni modo gessi morem.*

Nine cases are affected by particles: *semper*: † Adel. 495; *separatim* and *permulta*: † R. R. 2, 1, 28; *saepe*: Hist. Frag. 56, 26, *saepeque* postilla operam rei publicae fortē atque strenuam *perhibuit*; Asin. 552; Enn. Ann. 273; *umquam*: Acc. 132, quineque amicus *umquam* gravis neque hosti hostis *fuit*; C. I. L. 35; *raro*, influencing many verbs: Bacch. 1079, *fui* ego illa aetate et *fecī* illa omnia sed more modesto, *duxī*, *habui* scortum, *potavi*, *dedi*, *donavi*, at enim id *raro*; *solemne*: Hist. Frag. 153, 7, nam illis aquandi *solemne iter* huc *fuit*.

Contingency is produced by a clause with *ubi*: † L. L. 9, 69, *ab eadem ratione domi suae quisque ubi lavatur balneum dixerunt.*

Temporal contrast appears 26 times. It is completely expressed by particles of past and present time in two cases: with *tum* and *nunc*: † L. L. 9, 17, verba perperam dicta apud antiquos aliquos propter poetas non modo *nunc* dicunter recte sed etiam quae ratione *dicta sunt tum, nunc* perperam dicuntur; † M. S. 217, 1.

Contrast is expressed by a phrase or particle of past time alone thirteen times: *olim*: † Enn. Ann. 222; † Eun. 246, *olim* isti fuit generi *quondam* *quaestus* apud saeclum *prius*, where two other words, *quondam* and *prius*, express past time; L. L. 5, 153; *ante*: † Enn. Sat. 483; * Asin. 552; Merc. 319; *tum*: M. S. 141, 5; *antea*: † C. I. L. 204, 1, 31; *primo*: † Hist. Frag. 54, 8; *preimum*: † C. I. L. 204, 1, 26; *prius*: † Merc. 297; † Mil. 96. The single instance of the use of a phrase is * Bacch. 1079, where *illa aetate* refers to the youth of an old man.

Contrast is shown by a particle of present time in four cases: *nunc*: * Enn. Ann. 273; † Most. 200; † L. L. 7, 29, *hoc etiam ab Sabinis orti Samnites tenuerunt* et nostri etiam *nunc* forum vetus appellant; *postilla*: * Hist. Frag. 56, 26. A substantive expresses this contrast six times: *Antiqui*:

† L. L. 9, 87; † L. L. 6, 63; *Graeci*: † R. R. 2, 1, 6; †* R. R. 2, 1, 28; *maiorum*: † C. I. L. 204, 1, 33; *Volsci*: † Frag. Hist. 44, 20; *veteribus Sicanis*: † Hist. Frag. 52, 20.

In verbs of mental action, we have six instances where the meaning of the verb involves customary activity: *habere*: Frag. Hist. 71, 1, Cassius, *tunc primum turpe habitum est mortem sibi consciscere*; And. 996. Belief or reliance: Adel. 811, *quod . . . et me tum uxorem credidisti scilicet ducturum*; Amph. 762. A series of events is involved: Merc. 264, *Amavi equidem hercle ego olim in adulescentia*; attention to a trade: Tit. Fab. Tog. 4.

A particle is used twice: *numquam*: Aul. 9, *ita avido ingenio fuit numquam indicare id filio voluit suo*; † Merc. 264.

Contingency affects one case: Her. 4, 16, 23, *cuius mulieris animus esset corruptus, eius corporis castum esse non putaverunt*.

In eight cases, temporal contrast is expressed; completely: †* Merc. 264, by *olim in adulescentia* and *nunc*; *Antehac*: † And. 996; *tum*: † Adel. 811; *tunc primum*: † Frag. Hist. 71, 1; *primo*: † Tit. Fab. Tog. 4; *nunc*: † Amp. 762. The subject expresses it: R. R. 2, 5, 4, *ab hoc antiqui manus ita abstineri voluerunt*; M. S. 95, 3. As to the two remaining cases, in Aul. 9, the subject of the verb is dead; in Her. 4, 16, 23, *maiores* is understood throughout the argument.

In Class C, one sentence is influenced by verb-meaning: Phorm. 912, *olim quom honeste potuit tum non est data*; one by contingent action, shown by a clause with *quom*: Trin. 1092, *res quom animam agebat, tum esse offusam oportuit*. Temporal contrast is marked in both cases by *tum*, once joined with *olim*.

In conclusion, 70 cases are influenced by verb-meaning, or 81 per cent.; fourteen by particles of recurrent action, or 16 per cent.; by contingent clauses six, or seven per cent. of all. Temporal contrast is expressed 64 times, or 75 per cent., and in many cases it is implied.

Six cases of the pluperfect must be added. All are plainly stamped by the context. We have one case of *soliti eramus*: M. S. 136, 1, *Ita uti soliti eramus Romae in balneis, plodere*

coepimus et murmurari. This is evidently a case of shifted tense, like *coepimus*, and is equivalent to the imperfect. One case of *insueram* with the infinitive occurs: Capt. 306, qui *imperare insueram nunc altrius imperio obsequor*; *Consueverat*: Her. 2, 19, 28.

In two cases, the verb implies customary action: Hist. Frag. 149, 10, per nota itinera ad domum in qua *serviverant* praecucurrisse; Merc. 90, servom una mittit qui olim puero parvolo mihi *paedagogus fuerat*. The influence of particles is seen: Cist. 134, quae *saepe* mecum *mentionem* fecerat. Contingency is expressed: † Her. 2, 19, 28, with *si*; contrast in time: † Capt. 306; † Merc. 90.

These six cases may be classed with the perfect indefinite, because they express action which does not extend to the present. We have, then, 91 cases of customary action in past time. The greater influence of the context and the paucity of cases show that the perfect is less well adapted to the expression of a customary idea in the past than the imperfect. There is no generalizing influence in the tense, hence this function must depend entirely upon the forces in the context.

PERFECT (a).

	Total.	Independent.		Dependent.		Sentence-Quest.		Quis-question.	
		Pure.	Contingent.	Pure.	Contingent.	P.	C.	P.	C.
A. Physical.....	101	60	8	28	3	.....	.....	2	.....
B. Psychical.....	31	21	.....	8	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
C. Auxiliary :									
II. solitus est.....	9	1	.....	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
III. consufacio....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
desuesco.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
consuesco.....	17	3	2	10	1	1	.....	.....	.....
IV. mos fuit.....	3	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
consuetudo	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
D. Frequentatives.....	5	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
	172	91	11	59	7	1	.....	3	.....

PERFECT (b).

	Total.	Independent.		Dependent.		Sentence-Quest.		Quis-question.	
		Pure.	Contingent.	Pure.	Contingent.	P.	C.	P.	C.
A. Physical.....	34	19	1	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
B. Psychical.....	10	6	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
C. Auxiliary :									
I. Colorless.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
II. solitus est.....	11	2	.....	6	.....	2	.....	1	.....
III. consuesco.....	5	1	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
IV. mos fuit.....	2	.....		2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
consuetudo fuit.	3	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
D. Frequentatives.....	18	6	1	10	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
	85	35	5	41	1	2	.....	1	.....

PLUPERFECT.

	Total.	Independent.		Dependent.		Sentence-Quest.		Quis-question.	
		Pure.	Contingent.	Pure.	Contingent.	P.	C.	P.	C.
A. Physical.....	3	.....	....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
C. Auxiliary :									
II. solitus eram.....	1	.....	....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
III. insueram.....	1	.....	....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
IV. consueverat.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	6	.....	1	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESENT.

The present tense in its capacity for expressing customary action should not be disregarded. The verb employed may so far be generalized by factors outside the tense that the statement is true of all time instead of the present merely. To make it customary, definite words are needed. The force of such a construction lies chiefly in the present, but it must include actions in the past, as a custom in the present involves comparison in the past. The strongest influence is the meaning of the verb, and next to it, particles indicating repeated action like *saepe*, and clauses or phrases producing contingency, where the tense looks toward both past and future.

The verb *soleo* affords the largest number of instances, which express an action beginning in the past and extending into the present, and may be compared with cases of the perfect definite already observed. In the latter, the past moment, or the beginning of the customary action, is emphasized as in Trin. 300, *semper ego usque ad hanc aetatem obveniente adulescentia, tuis serviri servitutem imperiis*. Compare this with R. R. 3, 17, 9, *ut Apuli solent pecuarii facere*. In the last sentence, the present act of the custom is made vivid by the present tense; in the case with the perfect, it need not be important. There are 275 instances of *soleo* with the infinitive, including 60 where it may easily be supplied, e.g.: Curc. 604, *nugas garris, soleo*; Fab. Att. 55, *decumus mensis est cum factum est, ita fit, ita semper solet*; Enn. Ann. 243; Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 71; Sext. Fab. Pall. 182; Fab. Pall. 52; Fab. Pall. 8; Lutat. Catulus Ep. 1; Rud. 1075; Truc. 831; Most. 872; Men. 752; Men. 140; Rud. 372; Cas. 174; Amp. 185; Asin. 942; Asin. 258; Cas.

1011; Curn. 362; Most. 694; Poen. 862; Ps. 475; Ps. 780; Ps. 955; Truc. 185; Truc. 368; Plaut. Frag. 82; Men. 766; Pers. 199; Amph. 711; Amph. 1092; Cas. 707; Aul. 37; Aul. 819; Cist. 55; Merc. 381; Capt. 778; Curn. 690; Pers. 805; Stich. 538; Amph. 536; Rud. 1010; Men. 262; Men. 263; Phorm. 784; Ad. 79; Eun. 279; Ad. 923; Phorm. 940; And. 582; Eun. 957; R. R. 2, 9, 7; R. R. 2, 1, 19; R. R. 1, 19, 3.

Five cases in *ut* clauses of comparison take the complement from the general context. *Esse* may be supplied: Caec. St. Fab. Pall. 8, sepulchrum plenum taenarium ita *ut solet*; Poen. 1410; Truc. 695; Bacch. 202; L. L. 10, 22. Many of these cases have become formulaic, especially the large number of clauses with *ut*.

The infinitive is expressed in 215 cases. The order in which the words stand is noteworthy. The infinitive may follow the verb immediately: R. R. 2, 5, 11, qui ad altaria, hostiae sanitatem non *solent stipulari*, or precede: Stich. 182, nulli *negare soleo* si quis me essum vocat; or be separated: Her. 4, 11, 16, *solent enim diu cogitare omnes qui magna negotia volunt agere*.

Part of Schmalz's statement, I. Mueller, *Handbuch II*, 558, that *esse* usually follows the auxiliary, but as a rule, auxiliary verbs follow their infinitives; and, when they precede, are emphatic, is here supported. Statistics are given below.

	Prose.		Poetry.		Total.
	Esse.	Other Inf.	Esse.	Other Inf.	
Infinitive follows.....	12	38	7	12	69
" precedes	4	71	2	30	107
" is separated.....	0	9	4	26	39
	16	118	13	68	215

In sixteen of the cases in poetry in which the infinitive precedes, its ending is *i*, forming the close of an iambic senarius, e. g.: *Bach.* 897, . . illud, quod *dici solet*; *Curc.* 470, *quiique stipulari solet*. A natural tendency in the language is thus shown. The percentage of infinitives that follow their verb is 32; of those that precede, 49; and those that are separated, 18. In prose, 55.9 per cent. precede, 30 per cent. follow; in poetry, 38 per cent. precede, and 22 per cent. follow.

There are 29 cases of *esse*, of which 65 per cent. follow the verb, a fact which tends to establish part of Schmalz's rule. Exclusive of cases of *esse* and infinitives separated from the verb, the percentage of those which precede is 66.8 per cent., establishing the fact that *soleo* is an auxiliary verb, in many cases equivalent to our phrase, "as usual."

The infinitive frequently precedes when the auxiliary is emphatic: *And.* 426, *verum illud verbumst, volgo quod dici solet*; and the auxiliary often precedes when the infinitive is emphatic, that is when the present indicative of the verb represented by the infinitive could have been substituted for the compound phrase: *Quin.* *Att.* *Fab.* *Tog.* 10, *nempe adstat sinus apud mensam ubi sermo solet suboriri seditiosus*; *R. R.* 2, 9, 16, *quod accidit his qui per colles silvestres longinquos solent comitari in aestiva et hiberna*. The last part of Schmalz's rule, therefore, is not established for *soleo*.

In many cases, the action is not clearly enough defined by *soleo* as customary action, so it is amplified by the use of an infinitive expressing customary action. There are thirteen cases of the infinitive of a frequentative verb with *soleo*: *sectari*: *Cas.* 1446, *solet hic barbatos sane sectari senex*; *Merc.* 18; *Epid.* 486; *Mil.* 622; *mactari*: *Curc.* 538; *Poen.* 517; *hortarier*: *Merc.* 695; *mutarier*: *Men.* 74; *cantari*: *Trin.* 350; *R. R.* 2, 9, 1, *has enim lupus captare solet*; *excitari*: *R. R.* 1, 29, 2; *concitare*: *R. R.* 2, 5, 14; *indigitare*: *Logis.* 248, 6.

Sixteen times the infinitive of a verb expressing customary action in itself is used: *uti*: *Nov.* *Fab.* *Att.* 9; *pascere*:

Pacuv. 349; *garrire*: Aul. 830; *dici*: Poen. 136; *scortari*: Asin. 270; *operam dare*: Merc. 987; *curari*: Pers. 693; *quaero hospitium ubi ego curer melior quam regi Antiochi oculi curari solent*; R. R. 3, 5, 5, *solet*, ibidem *servari*; *saginare*: R. R. 3, 14, 5; *pasci*: R. R. 3, 3, 1; R. R. 3, 2, 13; 3, 7, 2; 2, 2, 9; *coli*: R. R. 1, 23, 1; *uti*: Her. 3, 5, 9.

The influence of particles is noteworthy. Where the infinitive is not expressed with *soleo*, five cases are affected by a particle of frequent action: *volgo*: Amp. 185; And. 582; Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 8; *ferme*: Poen. 862, facis quod manufesti moechi hau *ferme solent*; *semper*: Pomp. Fab. Att. 55.

In the 24 cases that remain, *volgo* is used: And. 426; *fere*: Her. 3, 5, 9; R. R. 3, 12, 2; *frequens*: L. L. 7, 99; *pauciens*: Tit. Fab. Tog. 4; *crebro* or *crebrum*: Hec. 215; Cato de Ag. 151, 3; *plerum*: Hist. Frag. 109, 27; *saepe*: Men. 317; *umquam*: Men. 923; *usque*: Hist. Frag. 49, 11; *potissimum*: R. R. 2, 2, 4; *maxime*: L. L. 5, 79; *magis*: Mil. 622; Merc. 987. A distributive subject is seen: R. R. 2, 10, 10; de numero pastorum *alii angustius, alii laxius constituere solent*; R. R. 2, 1, 19; *quotannis* is used: L. L. 7, 44, ea *quotannis* de ponte subilio a sacerdotibus publice *deici solent* in Tiberim; Aul. 324, with *in nonum diem*, and *septimo*: R. R. 2, 7, 3, may be compared. Expressions of time with distributive numerals are classed here: R. R. 1, 54, 5, haec de qua fit oleum *congeri solet acervatim dies singulos* in tabulata; R. R. 2, 9, 11; Most. 359; R. R. 2, 4, 15.

Contingent action should next be investigated. There are 71 cases among sentences where the infinitive is expressed: *si* or *nisi*: Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall., 129, *ignoscere* istic *solent* ne eas minoris noxias Erum *si* forte quasi alias vini tago?; Rud. 577; Poen. 517; Stich. 182; Stich. 642; Pers. 449; Pers. 674; Cato de decem v. p. 40; Cato de ag. 1; R. R. 1, 23, 3; R. R. 2, 9, 13; R. R. 1, 4, 4; R. R. 2, 4, 17; Her. 3, 22, 36; *cum*: Caec. St. Fab. Pall. 196, *audire ignoti quom imperant soleo non auscultare*; Ps. 612; Mil. 1; R. R. 1, 29, 2; R. R. 1, 11, 1; R. R. 1, 64, 1; R. R. 1, 1, 3; R. R. 1, 6, 6; R. R. 1, 31, 5; R. R. 3, 16, 29; L. L. 6, 4; L. L. 6, 21.

Relative clauses: Men. 983, servi *qui* quom culpa carent metuant, i *solent esse* eris utibilis; Most. 858; Curec. 538; Heaut. 362; R. R. 3, 5, 3; R. R. 2, 9, 8; R. R. 1, 40, 1; R. R. 2, 11, 7; R. R. 3, 5, 5; R. R. 1, 29, 2; R. R. 2, 5, 11; R. R. 2, 5, 14; L. L. 9, 108; L. L. 10, 6; L. L. 7, 99; Logis. 251, 35; Her. 4, 11, 16; *ut*: Most. 227, ut famast homini exin *solet* pecuniam *invenire*; R. R. 2, 6, 4; *quotienscumque*: R. R. 3, 10, 7, *quotienscumque sumpserunt*, locus *solet purgari*; *quando*: Mil. 753, nam ii *solent quando accnbuere* ubi cena adpositast *dicere*; a comparative clause: Most. 115, elixus esse *quam assus soleo* suavior; *modo*: R. R. 3, 12, 4; *ubicumque*: R. R. 1, 55, 7; *ante*: R. R. 1, 30, quod si quae folia *mittere solent ante frondere inceperunt*, statim ad serendum idonea non sunt.

The contingent form of the adjacent sentence influences the clause with *soleo*: Men. 74; Trin. 913, *fieri* istuc *solet*: quod in manu teneas, id desidere.

Eighteen cases are made contingent by means of a phrase: *decimo mense*: Caec. St. Fab. Pall. 164; expressions of the time of year: R. R. 2, 9, 16, qui per colles silvestres longinquos *solent comitari in aestiva et hiberna*; *aestate*: R. R. 2, 5, 14; R. R. 1, 29, 2, offringere dicunt quod *prima aratione* glaebeae grandes *solent excitari*; festal days: Afr. Fab. Tog. 260, quae facere nos *solemus festivo die*; L. L. 5, 85; *in sacris*, L. L. 7, 44; *in comitiis*: L. L. 5, 85; and similarly, R. R. 2, 7, 13.

Expressions of place: *in muri*, Merc. 695; Bacch. 79, quod si apud te eveniat desubito prandium Forte aut cena ut *solet in ipsis fieri conciliabulis?*; R. R. 1, 2, 11; Rud. 1081, verba qua *in comoediis solent lenoni dici*; *in rebus*: L. L. 10, 72; a participial phrase: R. R. 3, 16, 38; R. R. 2, 4, 19; a gerundive phrase: L. L. 10, 26, quod *solent sumi in casibus conferendis*; L. L. 5, 183.

Twelve sentences lack the infinitive, eight with a relative clause showing contingency: Truc. 831, non vinum viris moderari sed viri vino *solent qui* quidem *probi sunt*; Men. 766; Cas. 174; Ps. 780; Amph. 711; Asin. 258; R. R. 2, 1, 19; L. L. 10, 22. A shortened clause with *atque* produces contingency: Men. 752, pariter hoc *atque alias res soles*;

quando: Pers. 805; *ubi*: Amph. 1092. Contingency is expressed by a phrase: Enn. Ann. 243, *solent reges omnes in rebus secundis.*

The remaining cases of *soleo* with the infinitive are: C. I. L. 198, 31; C. I. L. 200, 50; C. I. L. 577, 3, 9; Afr. Fab. Tog. 133; Afr. Fab. Tog. 420; Enn. Ann. 8; Enn. Ann. 244; Pacuv. 309; Quinc. Att. Fab. Tog. 10; Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 202; Laber. M. 10; Hist. Frag. 59, 28; Hist. Frag. 200, 19. An expression of individual custom appears in Plautus, Amph. 622, non *soleo ego somniculose eri imperia persequi*; Trin. 712; Ps. 655; Truc. 483; Curc. 76; Ps. 1332; Cist. 310; Cist. 373; Truc. 300; Poen. 1168; Trin. 905; Rud. 1008; Most. 892; Capt. 69; Bacch. 897; Curc. 473; Truc. 150. More general are: Most. 751, tam liquidumst quam liquide *esse tempestas solet*; Curc. 78; Most. 722; Bacch. 202; Men. 184; Rud. 270; Truc. 219; Asin. 703; Men. 303; Ps. 1002; Heaut. 500; Heaut. 991; Cato de Ag. 143, 3; Cato in Vetur. 47, 18; Meyer Frag. 181; R. R. 3, 5, 15; R. R. 3, 9, 7; R. R. 3, 12, 6; R. R. 3, 17, 9; R. R. 2, 10, 11; R. R. 3, 9, 14; R. R. 3, 16, 29; R. R. 3, 5, 16; R. R. 3, 12, 1; R. R. 1, 45, 3; R. R. 1, 8, 4; R. R. 2, 11, 12; R. R. 2, 1, 24; R. R. 2, 2, 18; R. R. 2, 11, 2; R. R. 1, 16, 6; R. R. 1, 15, 4; R. R. 1, 59, 2; R. R. 3, 5, 3; R. R. 2, 11, 6; R. R. 1, 14, 1; R. R. 1, 19, 3; R. R. 1, 2, 27; R. R. 1, 51, 1; R. R. 2, 10, 5; R. R. 2, 11, 5; R. R. 3, 9, 17; R. R. 2, 9, 16; R. R. 1, 14, 3; R. R. 2, 4, 5; R. R. 2, 3, 7; R. R. 3, 7, 1; R. R. 2, 5, 12; R. R. 2, 11, 8; R. R. 3, 16, 19; L. L. 7, 102; L. L. 6, 95; L. L. 5, 71; L. L. 5, 104; L. L. 9, 17; L. L. 5, 130; L. L. 5, 68; L. L. 5, 115; L. L. 7, 110; L. L. 5, 57; L. L. 9, 108; L. L. 7, 65; L. L. 5, 47; L. L. 8, 93; L. L. 5, 52; L. L. 5, 14; Logis. 250, 21; Logis. 251, 30; Logis. 251, 29; M. S. 104, 1; Her. 2, 30, 49; Her. 3, 21, 35.

There are four cases of *adsoleo* without the infinitive. It is easily supplied from the context: And. 41, quae *adsolent* quaeque oportet siqua esse ad salutem omnia huic esse video; Pers. 759^a; Incert. vat. 35, 9; Epid. 7. All extend

over the whole range of time and are not affected by the context.

Here follow a few verbs similar in meaning to *soleo* and its compounds. There are three cases of *consuesco*, two with the infinitive expressed. In Asin. 22, *bene salutando consescunt compellando blanditer*, the infinitive is hard to supply. The force of contingency is seen in two cases : with *ubi* : R. R. 2, 9, 10, *cibum capere consescunt interdiu, ubi pascatur* ; *hieme* : R. R. 3, 16, 21.

Adsuesco occurs twice, without the infinitive. Both cases are affected by contingency : with *quae* : R. R. 2, 9, 5, *canis enim facilius quid adsuescit eaque consuetudo firmior quae sit ad pastores quam quae ad pecudes* ; with *quando* : Asin. 216.

Consuefacio appears twice, without the infinitive : Adel. 414, *nil praetermitto : consuefacio* ; R. R. 2, 9, 13.

Finally there is *desuefio* with *minutatim* : R. R. 2, 9, 12; *duobus mensibus primis a partu non diiunguntur a matre, sed minutatim desuefiunt*. The phrase at the beginning makes the whole contingent. There is no infinitive with this verb, but one may be supplied from the context.

Formulaic expressions which influence the rest of the sentence to such an extent that the result is the same as if *soleo* had been employed are next considered. There are nineteen cases with *mos*. *Mos est* is found seven times. Three cases are influenced by contingency : by a clause with *si* : Capt. 198, *nunc servitus si evenit, ei vos morigerai mos bonust*; *quoius* : Capt. 985; *quod* : Merc. 513, *nec mos meus est ut praedicem quod ego omnes scire credam*. We have dependent clauses with *ut* : Ps. 433, *ut nunc mos est, maxume, quid mirum fecit?*; Men. 906; Truc. 15. Compare Men. 723. *Morem habent* occurs five times and the use of this phrase may be compared with cases like Men. 571, *ut hoc uitimur maxume more moro*; Trin. 1034, *scuta iacere fugereque hostis more habent licentiam*. The influence of particles is felt : *maxume* : Men. 571; Capt. 232; *fere* and *maxime* : Men. 573; *plerique* : Cure. 377. Contingency is shown : with *qui* : Men.

573 ; by attraction : Capt. 232, *fere maxima pars morem hunc homines habent*, quod sibi volunt *dum id impetrant boni sunt*. The remaining instance is Men. 338. Compare three cases of *more fit* : Stich. 641, *more hoc fit atque stulte mea sententia si quem hominem expectam eum solent provisere*; Trin. 1035; Trin. 1036. Note also : Curc. 299, nam ita nunc *mos viget* ; Truc. 99, ita nunc adulescentes *morati sunt* ; R. R. 3, 2, 16. Particles influence these cases five times.

Closely related are the 21 formulæ with *consuetudo* : *Consuetudo est* : Her. 4, 32, 43, quod plena *consuetudo est* non modo poetarum et oratorum sed etiam *cotidiani* sermonis huiusce modi denominationum ; with *cotidiani* : L. L. 9, 17 ; *consuetudo* as subject, twice influenced by words equivalent to the particle *volgo*, i. e., *communis* : L. L. 6, 82, *Consuetudo communis* quae cum praeverbis coniuncta fuerunt etiam nunc servat ; *multitudinis* : L. L. 8, 48. Contingency is shown in both cases ; in L. L. 6, 82, by the clause with *quae* ; in L. L. 8, 48, with *quod* ; and by the introductory phrase, L. L. 9, 20. Compare *amor assuetudinis* : L. L. 9, 20, quem enim *amor assuetudinis* potius in pannis possessorem *retinet quam ad nova vestimenta traducit*? A tone of contingency is given by the clause with *potius quam*. The phrase, *in consuetudine*, with some neutral verb is found eight times. The influence of the adjective must be noted : L. L. 10, 16, *hoc genere declinatio in communi consuetudine verborum aegrotat*. A curious form of the verb appears : L. L. 10, 16, *sic ex Capua dici oportere Capuanus quod in consuetudine vehe menter natat* ; similarly : L. L. 8, 33 ; L. L. 9, 76 ; L. L. 8, 23 ; L. L. 5, 2 ; L. L. 8, 33 ; L. L. 9, 76. In four cases, *consuetudo* is the object of *sequor* or *utor* : L. L. 8, 27, *si id consequimur una consuetudine*, nihil prodest analogia ; L. L. 8, 57 ; L. L. 9, 8 ; R. R. 1, 8, 6. L. L. 8, 6 is influenced by a contingent phrase. Note two cases of the accusative with *secundum* : L. L. 9, 76, *at secundum consuetudinem dicimus ut haec Avis . . sic haec Frugis . .* ; L. L. 9, 76, with *Colis*. Three verbs are influenced by the equivalent of a particle of recurrent action, and five by contingency.

Three cases with *usus* must still be considered. Contingency is shown by *quibus rebus*: L. L. 9, 58, *Quare in quibus rebus non subest similis natura aut usus*; R. R. 2, 3, 10; R. R. 2, 3, 8.

There is one case of the use of *disciplina* which is contingent: Heaut, 300, *disciplinast eis demunerarier ancillas primum ad dominas qui adfectant viam*.

Customary action may also be expressed by means of a frequentative verb especially where it is aided by contextual influence. As the collection for early Latin is not complete, no statistics are given. Some examples follow: Ps. 1145, tu, bone vir, *flagitare saepe clamore in foro*; Trin 99, *Primumdum omnium male dictitatur tibi volgo in sermonibus*; Men. 161, *Ne te uxor sequatur respectas identidem*; Sext. Turp. Fab. Pall. 78; Poen. 414; Most. 954; Pers. 172; Trin. 287 B; Ps. 9. In Class B, Her. 3, 8, 15, si separatim haec causa minus *saepe tractatur* in iudicilibus et in deliberativis causis *saepe magnae partes versantur laudes*; Acc. 634. All of these examples are influenced by particles. Sentences with contingent coloring are: Rud. 374, *siquae improbae sunt merces iactat omnis*; Adel. 871, *illum amant me fugitant*, *illum ut vivat optant*, *meam autem mortem expectant scilicet*; Men. 925, *ubi satur sum, nulla crepitant*: quando esuris, tum crepant; Men. 114; R. R. 3, 16, 19; L. L. 6, 68, *sic triumphare appellatum quod cum imperatore milites redeuntes clamitant per urbem in Capitoleum eunti Io triumphhe*, where *in C. eunti* and other phrases make the sentence contingent. Moreover, we have here the reason for a name. Further note, Pomp. Fab. Att. 80; Cato. 77; Capt. 188.

In the discussion of verb-meaning, there remain those cases in A, B, and C, in which the verb itself implies customary action. There are eighteen in Class A; Afr. Fab. Tog. 292, *aequae profesto ac festo concelebras forum*; Pomp. Fab. Att. 162; Cato 54; Hist. Frag. 52, 6, with *vocantur*; *vivont*: Rud. 290; Merc. 816; *utitur*, Men. 928; Capt. 291; Rud. 531; Stich. 153; Mil. 348, *sed hic illi subparasit semper*; *occubant*: Mil. 213; *amant*: Mil. 1264; *nomen*



ferunt: Ps. 1105; Eun. 89, quia vero hae mihi *patent* semper fores; R. R. 2, 11, 11; *habent analogias*: L. L. 9, 89; *ap-peliant*: L. L. 7, 62; *utuntur*: L. L. 10, 42.

The influence of particles is large, extending over 122 cases. In Class A there are 50 verbs with *saepe*; five with *saepius*, two with *saepissime*, and one of *saepiuscule*. They express real customary action, e. g.: Adel. 60, *venit ad me saepe clamitans*; Acc. 576; Acc. 260; Enn. 160; Enn. 194; Pomp. Fab. Att. 24.; Cato de Ag. 1, 4; Capt. 165; Most. 108; Merc. 323; Curc. 125; Men. 768; Cas. 670; Rud. 995; Aul. 70; Most. 197; Heaut. 776; Phorm. 276; Heaut. 539; Hec. 308; Eun. 258; Phorm. 757; Eun. 399; R. R. 1, 19, 2, *saepe fracta bura relinquunt vomeres in arvo*; R. R. 3, 7, 2; R. R. 2, 1, 21; R. R. 3, 9, 5; R. R. 3, 9, 14; R. R. 1, 55, 3; R. R. 1, 8, 5; R. R. 2, 10, 11; R. R. 3, 10, 5; R. R. 1, 51, 2; R. R. 1, 69, 1; R. R. 3, 12, 4; L. L. 5, 138; L. L. 10, 8; L. L. 9, 20; L. L. 9, 92; L. L. 8, 31; M. S. 165, 6; M. S. 272, 154; M. S. 251, 29; M. S. 200, 5; Her. 3, 16, 28; Her. 2, 13, 9; Her. 4, 10, 15; Her. 3, 8, 15; Her. 3, 8, 15; Her. 2, 27, 43.

Acc. 26, et eo *plectuntur* poeta quam suo vitio *saepius*, shows the use of *saepius*. Cf. L. L. 8, 60; M. S. 96, 1; M. S. 267, 47; *saepissime*: Men. 302 . . qui tibi *saepissime cyathisse*; Mil. 602; *saepiuscule*: Cas. 703, *saepiuscule peccas*.

Semper, in Class A occurs 30 times: † Pomp. Att. 162; Enn. Ann. 173; Versic. 4, p. 138; Cato de Ag. 17, 1; Cato, 157, 1: † Rud. 531; Rud. 524; Cist. 681; Ps. 225; Rud. 531; Aul. 96; Aul. 522; Capt. 663; Bacch. 82; Poen. 228; † Mil. 348; † Mil. 212; Amph. 79; Curc. 53; Most. 767; Amph. 351; Rud. 1114; Rud. 4, signum quod *semper tempore exoritur suo*; Rud. 133; Capt. 77, quasi mures *semper edimus alienum cibum*; Adel. 633; † Eun. 89; L. L. 5, 76; M. S. 261, 2; Her. 2, 19, 30.

Cotidie is used with fourteen verbs: Aul. 23, ea mihi *cottidie aut ture aut vino aut aliqui semper supplicat*; Frag. Poet. 53, 2; Ps. 844; Rud. 295; Stich. 165; Truc. 66; Heaut. 423; L. L. 9, 26; R. R. 3, 10, 4; M. S. 130, 8; Her. 4, 49, 62;

Her. 4, 36, 48; Her. 3, 22, 36; *cotidianum*: R. R. 3, 2, 16; *usque*: † Men. 928; Truc. 322; Most. 1052; *plerique*: Truc. 145; And. 55; *nonnumquam*: L. L. 5, 8; † L. L. 7, 52; *numquam*: Mil. 193; *multum*; † L. L. 10, 42; *ferme*: Men. 263, quia nemo *ferme* sine damno huc *devortitur*; *dies totos*: † Stic. 153; *iam dudum*: Caec. Fab. Pall. 13; *continuo*: Aul. 300; *profesto* and *festo*: † Afr. Fab. Tog. 292; *crebriores*: Her. 3, 22, 36; *meiris modis*: Rud. 596; *alius*: Fab. Pall. 22, 75, *alii adnutant, alii adnictat . . .*; distributive numerals: Truc. 98, *quinei aut senei adveniunt ad scorta congerrones*; *usitatum*: Her. 2, 13, 19; *quaedam*: † R. R. 2, 11, 11. Of these cases 111 are influenced by particles only, and not by the meaning of the verb.

In Class A, 65 cases are affected by contingent clauses, and seven by phrases. There are ten clauses with *si*: Cas. 721, *si eas eruptum, ilico scindunt*; Cas. 795; * Mil. 193; * Aul. 300; † Ps. 1105; * Mil. 602; Phorm. 55; * R. R. 1, 69, 1; * L. L. 9, 92; * R. R. 3, 10, 5; with *cum*: Aul. 302, *quin quom it dormitum follem obstringit ob gulam*; * Enn. Ann. 194; Aul. 308; Poen. 355; And. 309; * R. R. 3, 10, 5; * R. R. 3, 12, 4; * L. L., 5, 8; * L. L. 8, 31; with *ubi*: Aul. 198, *ego istos novi polypos qui ubi quicquid tetigerunt tenent*; Cist. 121; Cas. 168; Pers. 433; Men. 318; * Adel. 633; * Cato de Ag. 17, 1; Cas. 722. Relative clauses with some contingent force in the sentence occur as follows: Lucil. 795, 248; Amph. 342; Asin. 177; Amph. 139; * Amph. 79; * Aul. 522; Bacch. 1024; Cas. 721, *quia, quod tetigere, ilico rapiunt*; Capt. 690; Curec. 55; Curec. 56; Curec. 531; Mil. 92; * Men. 323; * Truc. 145; Rud. 923; * Rud. 531; † Rud. 290; Eun. 103, *quae vera audivi, taceo et contineo optume*; * Hec. 308; * Phorm. 757; * Eun. 399; L. L. 10, 46.

Quando is used: Scaen. Rom. 92, 38; Amph. 123, *ita vorsipelle se facit quando lubet*; † Capt. 291; * Men. 302; Men. 77; *dum*: * M. S. 96, 1; * Truc. 323, *dum vivont lavant*; *quotiens* and *quotiensquonque*: Epid. 195, *quotiens sepulcrum vides, sacrificies*; Truc. 282; *quamvis*: * Bacch. 82; *ut*: † Mil. 1264; *quoniam*: * R. R. 2, 1, 21; *quam*:

† Capt. 663, *semper occant priusquam sariunt*; * Acc. 26;
 * Most. 197.

Of the seven phrases, one is of the time of year: * R. R. 1, 51, 2, *quod ibi saepe id temporis anni oriuntur nimbi*. Three refer to time in general: * Aul. 70, *decies die uno* saepe *extrudit aedibus*; * Aul. 96; * Eun. 258; with an introductory phrase *nuptiarum initio*: R. R. 249. Of all, 33 only are affected by contingent clauses alone.

In Class B, one verb is marked as customary by its meaning: Acc. Fab. Pall. 8, *quod periti sumus in vita atque usum vallemur magis*. In sixteen sentences, particles are noted: *saepe*: Her. 3, 20, 33, *Rei totius memoriam saepe una nota et imagine simplici comprehendimus*; Her. 3, 22, 35; *semper*: Enn. 260; Acc. 327; Cato, de Ag. 54, 3; Asin. 459; Asin. 420; Stich. 58-9; Heaut. 396; Heaut. 312; L. L. 6, 83; *cotidie*: Rud. 16, *cotidie ille scil quis hic quaerat malum*; *magis*: † Acc. Fab. Pall. 8; Bacch. 408; *plerique*: Ep. 166*; *minus*: R. R. 1, 22, 6.

Contingency is produced by means of a clause sixteen times: with *si*: Truc. 49, *si raras noctes ducit, ab animo perit*; Truc. 50*; *nisi*: Adel. 98; *quom*: * Cato de Ag. 54, 3; Ep. 166*; relative clauses: * Bacch. 408; * Rud. 16; Cas. 5, *qui utuntur vino vetere sapientis puto*; * Stich. 58-9; Hec. 343; * R. R. 1, 22, 6; * Her. 3, 22, 35; *ubi*: * Epid. 166; * Heaut. 812; Eun. 813; Eun. 812, *nolunt ubi velis*.

In Class C, particles influence the verb five times: *saepe*: Cato Epis. 83, 19, *quia saepe utiles videntur praedomuli*; Her. 3, 12, 21; Her. 1, 10, 16; Her. 3, 19, 31; *cotidie*: R. R. 1, 22, 6, *quae enim res cotidie videntur*. Contingency is expressed by a clause with *nisi*: * Her. 1, 10, 16, *nisi haec servata sint, fidem non potest facere*.

Omitting the 20 illustrative verbs of frequentative meaning, there are 522 examples of verbs in the present with some customary coloring. Of these, verb-meaning influences the action 350 times, or 67 per cent.; particles of recurrent action, 181 times, or 34.6 per cent.; contingency, 189, or 36 per cent. The present must, then, be generalized

by some strong influence from the context to make the statement true of past time as well as of present. Particles of recurrent action and expressions of contingency have about the same amount of influence, when taken together, as the verb-meaning.

PRESENT.

	Total.	Independent.		Dependent.		Sentence-Quest.		Quis-question.	
		Pure.	Contingent.	Pure.	Contingent.	P.	C.	P.	C.
A. Physical.....	162	55	50	34	20	1	.....	.....	2
B. Psychical.....	24	4	14	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
C. Auxiliary :									
I. Colorless.....	5	2	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	191	61	65	40	22	1	.....	.....	2
II. soleo.....	275	69	39	120	41	3	3	.....	.....
adsoleo.....	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
III. consuesco.....	3	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
adsuesco	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
consuefacio.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
desuefio.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
IV. mos.....	19	9	3	4	2	1	.....	.....	.....
consuetudo.....	21	5	4	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
usus.....	3	.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
disciplina.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	331	86	51	141	45	4	3	.....	1
	522	147	116	181	67	5	3	.....	3

CHAPTER V.

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL.

In 1241 verbs with customary coloring taken from early Latin, there are many ways of expressing customary action and many varieties of the action itself. All forms discussed have some reference to the past, but the most important are those referring to the past alone, as they are really the subject of the discussion. Six tenses have been treated here, and of them, the pluperfect, the perfect indefinite and the imperfect refer entirely to past time. Those examples of the imperfect known as the immediate past, the perfect definite and the present include also activities in the present. The number of cases entirely in the past is 547, including six verbs in the pluperfect tense, 85 in the perfect indefinite, and 456 in the imperfect; 693 sentences include both past and present: 172 cases of the perfect definite and 522 cases of the present. Compare these with the instances of the immediate past which have been cited.

The forms of expression vary, as may be seen from the tables accompanying the preceding chapters, and from the one given at the end. There are four main ways of expressing customary action: by a tense of an ordinary verb aided by the context; by an auxiliary verb like *soleo* or *consuesco*; by formulaic expressions composed of noun and copula, and by frequentative verbs. These forms may be combined in many ways.

Of the tenses, the imperfect of ordinary verbs occurs most often, with 445 cases, or 35 per cent. Cases with *soleo* in the present, 275, or 22 per cent., come next numerically; thirdly, come ordinary verbs in the present, 191, or 15 per cent.; and in the perfect, 178, or 14 per cent. The pluperfect, numbering six cases, is but 0.4 per cent. of the whole. Regard-

ing the tense and not the form, the present is largest numerically, with 522 instances, or 42 per cent., the 456 imperfects make 36.6 per cent., and the perfect with 257, 20 per cent.

From the study of the various tenses expressing customary action, we may conclude which tense is best adapted to its expression. If any tense is to be preferred, it seems at first sight to be the present because of the large number of examples. It is important to note, however, that among the 522 cases of the present 331 or 63 per cent. are formulaic, that is, they are destined for the expression of customary action by the meaning of the words apart from any influence of the tense. To appreciate the entire importance of verb-meaning, those expressions must be investigated which are not formulaic, yet give the sentence its customary coloring. The same kind of action is expressed by both forms. In nineteen cases of the present alone, does the verb-meaning affect the entire sentence. The formulaic verbs express a continued action whose development took the form of repetition at stated intervals. Aside from these, few verbs in the present express customary action. Particles of recurrent action appear 181 times, or 34 per cent., and clauses of contingency, 189 times, or 36 per cent. These influences are then equally important, but the strongest aid to the expression of customary action is the meaning of the verb.

The present is well adapted to the expression of action still in development, but it is unsuited to the expression of an action as definite as a custom without the strongest possible aid from the context. This tense may describe an action true only of the present moment, resembling in this usage the perfect; or it may express an action true of past time which occupies more time than the moment of speaking, e. g., a custom. Hence it may be influenced by particles which multiply action at a point, or by a generalizing clause which demands recurrence of a progressive action at regular intervals. Moreover, this dual nature of the present shows us why the influence of verb-meaning is the strongest of all,

in order that the present may express customary action to any marked extent. This is borne out by the fact that only one-ninth of the sentences influenced by particles of repeated action has a verb implying custom.

The perfect definite has 35 examples of formulaic verbs, and 49 affected by the meaning of the verb, or 48 per cent. including both. It is natural that this perfect, which denotes completed action as a whole at a definite point in time, should need the aid of the verb-meaning to denote customary action. However, the strongest influence is that of particles of recurrent action, appearing 116 times or 67 per cent. There are only 18 contingent clauses or 10 per cent. As the perfect definite chiefly expresses action at a point, the influence of particles is more appropriate than that of generalizing phrases. Its action must be extended to cover a wider sphere of action either by particles or verb-meaning, that it should express anything aside from the completion of an action as distinguished from its progress.

The perfect indefinite shows 21 occurrences of formulaic verbs, and 48 expressing custom by their meaning, or 81 per cent. There are fourteen cases of particles of recurrent action, or 16 per cent., and six of contingent action, or 7 per cent. This tense is influenced, however, by temporal contrast 64 times, 75 per cent. of all. This is necessary for its existence as a separate tense, inasmuch as the action must be recognized as ceasing before the present. In all other cases, then, contrast is less definitely indicated than in those cited, but is still present. A few sentences seem to express customary action by reason of temporal contrast alone. In a tense not naturally adapted to the expression of progressive action, such cases must be numerous. The fact that completed action is normally expressed by the perfect indicates the necessity of the influence of verb-meaning for a progressive action, and the indefinite nature of its temporal relations gives the reason for the contrast in time.

Three cases of formulæ are in the pluperfect, two affected by the meaning of the simple verb, and one by a particle of

recurrent action. There is one case of contingent action. The scarcity of cases is due to the fact that here customary action is denoted in spite of the tense, which usually expresses completed action.

The perfect and pluperfect are really cases of repeated action and not of custom, which must recur at regular intervals or under stated conditions, and the influence of clauses or phrases giving these conditions is more likely to result in the expression of a customary action, than the influence of particles. However, a habit grows from repetition, so that these cases need not be omitted.

The representative of the present in past time is the imperfect, as both express an action in process of development. Of the imperfects, however, only eleven, or 2 per cent., are formulaic. 182 cases of the simple verb are influenced by verb-meaning, making in all 39 per cent. The imperfect, then, is less influenced by verb-meaning than any other tense because it already expresses in itself an uncompleted action. Particles of recurrent action appear 38 times, or 8 per cent. The imperfect seldom expresses action at a point of time, hence the influence of particles here is slight. There are 101 cases of contingent action or 22 per cent. The imperfect is more likely to be influenced by clauses or phrases of this nature than by particles, because it expresses only incomplete action, thus differing from the present. We have 154 cases of temporal contrast or 33 per cent. In this summary, all cases whether influenced in one way or more than one way are included. All factors, aside from the particles of recurrent action, influence this tense to a considerable extent, the verb-meaning slightly predominating. The imperfect in its original progressive meaning is best adapted to the expression of customary past action: first, because the largest number of cases of customary action are imperfect, disregarding all aids from the context; and second, because this tense is the only one that can express customary action without the most definite aid from the context. In the other tenses, no cases have been found lacking such

influences ; but in the imperfect, 35 sentences appear which are not strongly enough influenced by the context to be placed under the given categories. 92 per cent. of the cases, then, receive as strong aid from the context as the tenses to which no especial customary function is assigned, like the perfect and present. Of the cases of the imperfect not influenced by the context, 24 are from Varro, the latest writer under discussion, and one whose works are concerned with the problems of origins, of customs, and of names which arise out of customs. The number of these is not as striking as if they stood in Plautus, whose subject-matter is not customs. On the other hand, the many cases in Varro with strong aid from the context show how weak this function in the imperfect must have been at that time. The force of temporal contrast is seen by comparison with the perfect indefinite. In the imperfect, many cases with and without other influence exhibit temporal contrast. In every case, this contrast makes the customary idea clearer. The imperfect, then, is influenced by the context in all the ways noted elsewhere, but to a slighter degree than other tenses. Its original progressive nature is shown especially by the few formulaic expressions, and the small part which adverbs of recurrent action play in the influence upon it. The imperfect is shown to be best adapted to the expression of custom by the number of cases found and by the few which have no influence from the context. Customary action, however, cannot be regarded as a special function of the tense, as more than nine-tenths of the cases are strongly influenced in other ways.

As to the various ways of expressing customary action, some differences must be noted. At the farthest limit stand the frequentative verbs, in which the influence of form is stronger than any customary idea. Such action involves repetition, passing imperceptibly into custom or habit. They express actions repeated very often and very rapidly in a comparatively limited space of time. These forms appear in all the tenses. At the other boundary come cases

of contingent action. In these, the action depends upon certain other definite events, that is, it takes place only when the latter occur. The repetitions, therefore, are here at their minimum. Between these extremes may be placed instances of the imperfect in what has been called pure customary action, including ordinary imperfects, *solebam* and other formulaic expressions. The perfect, pluperfect, and many cases of the present express action nearer the frequentative than the customary idea, whereas many instances of the present, especially with formulaic verbs, approach more nearly the expression of pure custom.

The tenses, by which a transition is made from forms which relate entirely to past time to the present where the emphasis is placed on the present moment, are the immediate past and perfect definite. They cover the same period of time, that is, a certain portion of the past, emphasizing that which comes immediately before the present and extending the action either explicitly or implicitly into the present, where the perfect closes it sharply. The present tense exhibits not only the largest number of instances, but also the most varied ways of expressing customary action, all of which however include the past as well as the future. One cannot say *soleo*, "It is my custom," without making a reference to a train of past actions, the event under consideration, and acts that will certainly occur. The remotest point in the past at which customary action occurs is the pluperfect, and next to it come the contemporaneous tenses of the imperfect and perfect definite. These, with the transitional tenses, emphasize the fact that the action, or a part of it, was in the past and a survey of it begins there. The idea of custom which can be expressed in such a range of time must then be a progressive one and is most likely to be indicated by a tense of incomplete action.

The expression of customary action, including the past as well as present, may have arisen in the present tense, as events in this sphere lie nearer at hand than in others. The number of formulæ in the present would bear this out. As

